# A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bhojpuri Language

(in Nepal)

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# ABSTRACT

The Bhojpuri language is the western branch of the Bihari Sub-group of the Eastern group of the Indo-Aryan language of Indo-European language family. It's the third major language of Nepal with little written literature.

This work entitled 'A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bhojpuri Language (in Nepal)' attempts to describe the language use, language attitude, and lexical and syntactic similarities and diversities among the different dialects of Bhojpuri geographically, communally and religiously.

This Survey is divided into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the subject matters. The second chapter introduces the Bhojpuri language and its native speakers, Bhojpurias, the term used during this work. The third chapter elucidates the Bhojpuri grammar. The fourth chapter presents the Sociolinguistic findings and analyzes them. At last but not the least, the fifth or last chapter summarizes the work, concludes it and puts the necessary recommendation forward.

# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Ø | Zero Element |
| 1 | First Person |
| 2 | Second Person |
| 3 | Third Person |
| C | Countable |
| COM | Commitative |
| D | Dative |
| DECL | Declarative |
| E | Ergative |
| F | Future |
| f | Feminine |
| G | Genitive |
| H | Honorific |
| IMP | Imperative |
| INS | Instrumental |
| INT | Interrogative |
| Int | Intransitive |
| L | Locative |
| m | Masculine |
| NEG | Negative |
| NH | Non-honorific |
| NOM | Nominative |
| nP | Non-past |
| Obj | Object |
| Obl | Oblative |
| Past | Past Tense |
| Perf | Perfective Aspect |
| P | Plural |
| PROG | Progressive Aspect |
| S | Singular |
| Sub | Subject |
| Tra | Transitive |
| U | Uncountable |

Signs:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dot (.) | = | Inflection |
| dash (-) | = | Affix break |

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# Bhojpuri Speaking Region in Nepal

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Bhojpuri is one of the prominent living languages spoken in India and Nepal. The two South Asian countries have a long geographical and cultural similarity. As Bhojpuri has acquired its name, it is related with Bhojpur that was a famous city though it still exists as a village near the town of Baxar in the Indian state of Bihar. It had also been known as *Bajpuri* in the past. Some local less used names the language acquired are *Purbi Boli* 'eastern speech' or just *Purbi* 'eastern'. It has also been named as *Banarsi* after the city of Varanasi or Banaras or *Bangarboli*, i. e. 'the speech of Bangar'.

### 1.2 Geographical Distribution

Apparently, the modern Bhojpuri-speaking community can be visualized politically split between the adjacent territories of Nepal and India. However, it exists as an integrated cultural entity mainly due to the frequent regular interaction and cultural affinity between Bhojpuri speakers of the two nations. The very language is spoken in an area of at least 43,000 square miles (Shukla 1981:3). Maithili and Magahi are spoken in the east, Nepali in the North hills and Awadhi in the west. Likewise, Udia, Bagheli and Chhattisgarhi are spoken in the south of the Bhojpuri speaking region.

Bhojpuri is mainly spoken in the Indian territories of western Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh and in the Nepalese Madheshi districts from Sarlahi in the east to Rupandehi in the west. Besides, it is spoken in Morang and Sunsari districts and the Kathmandu valley of Nepal as well as in Purnia district of Bihar, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, western Uttar Pradesh and Kolkata in India. While talking about overseas countries, the Bhojpuri speakers have successfully earned reputation in Trinidad, Tobago, Fiji, Suriname, Goanna, Mauritius and other African countries though they reached there as bonded laborers under agreement between the then colonial powers.

As per an earlier estimate, (Hayes et al. 1977), Some 41,000,000 people speak Bhopuri in the world. Public census of India in 1951 and 1971 show 13,500,000 and 14,340,564 Bhojpuri speakers, whereas, the statistics is still facing allegation that millions of native Bhojpuri speakers have been shown as Hindi speakers to reduce Bhojpuri speaking population.

But this survey is limited within Nepal (From Sarlahi in the east and Rupandehi in the west). Therefore as mentioned above, the Nepalese Bhojpuri speaking area lies between Maithili speaking area in the east, the adjacent Bhojpuri speaking Indian territories in the south, Awadhi belt in the west and Nepali and other hill origin language speaking area in the north.

As per the Nepalese Public Census in 2001 (2058 BS), Bhojpuri is the third major language of Nepal. It secures first position in Bara, Parsa and Rupandehi whereas second position in Sarlahi, Rauthat, and Nawalparasi. Regarding presence of the Bhojpuri speakers, there are a few districts, even less to count on fingers where Bhojpuri speakers have not reported their presence in the census.

There are 1,712,536 Bhojpurias living in Nepal, the number comprises 7.53% of the total population of Nepal. It follows the Nepali and Maithili populace comprising 48.61% and 12.3% respectively.

### 1.3 Genetic Affiliation

Genetic Affiliation presents the systematic development of convergence of a language till date from a common proto language. This is presented through a Strammbaum. Different Strammbaums came into light to present the genetic affiliation of the Indo-Aryan languages. Such classifications made by Hoernle (1880), Grierson (1903, 1931), Chatterjee (1926), Turner (1966), Katre (1968), Cardona (1974) and Nigam (1974) are thought to be of great significance. Of them, the classification by Nigam (1974) is considered to be a more reasonable approach to the discussion of Bhojpuri. The classification is as follows:

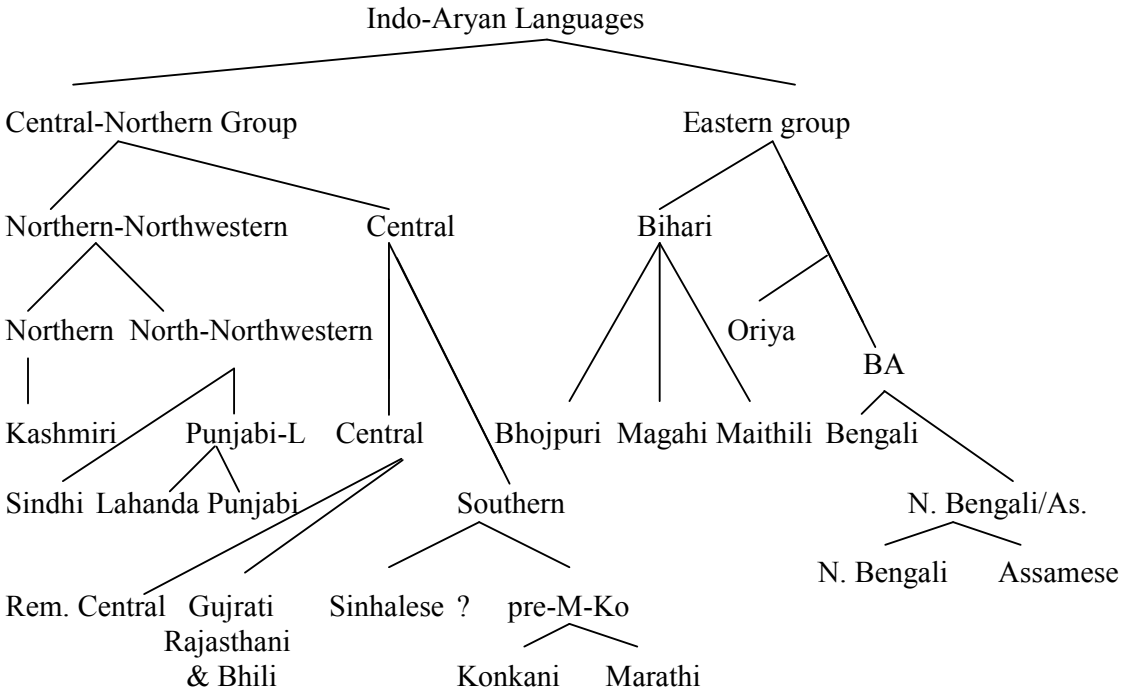



Fig: The classification of New Indo-Aryan languages (Nigam, 1974)

As shown in the fugure, Nigam (1974), considers Bhojpuri a distinct Indo-Aryan language on its own. It is unlike Hindi, as the latter belongs to the central group of the Indo-Aryan languages, while the former is affiliated to its eastern group (Masica 1991:437-7). It constitutes a subgroup with Maithili and Magahi and is linguistically nearer to Assamese, Bengali and Oriya than to its more contiguous lnguages, especially, Hindi and Nepali.

It is, therefore, a misconception held by foreign linguists like Hoernle (1880) and recently propagated also by some Hindi-speaking zealots to treat it as a Bihari or eastern dialect of Hindi.

## 1.4 Statement of the Problem

The brief introduction mentioned above shows that Bhojpuri is an independent and rich language in itself. This is one of the distinct languages of Nepal and India. It has also spread almost every nook and corner of the world. But the height it should have gained has not yet been availed to it from anywhere. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 has accepted it as a national language. In the Nepalese government media, Radio Nepal broadcasts a 5 minute daily news and a 15 minute weekly programme and Nepal Television occasionally telecasts few songs and rarely a serial. In community schools, Bhojpuri is included in the curriculum and textbooks have also

been designed for teaching and learning as a subject under Mother tongue group at primary level from Class I to V as well as a subject under Optional I group at secondary level in Class IX and X.

Besides these, since the scope of utilization in the day to day endeavor of Bhojpuri is negligible, it is almost motionless to be a subject for general study, exploration, research, conservation and development. The reason is quite clear, the government has not been courageous enough to formulate and implement any concrete language policy for any language other than Nepali. Regarding some laws and regulations, though exceptional, the degree of implementation is almost zero. Radio programme and news have also not gone further than translation from Nepali bulletins considered as mother bulletins.

Bhojpuri is facing such problems in Nepal. But the situation in India is still pitiable. Tens of millions of Indians speak it as mother tongue but the Indian constitution has still not made room for Bhojpuri to include in its 8$^{th}$ schedule. Bhojpuri is facing limitation of being a dialect of Hindi in India, the hypothesis has already been proved baseless above.

In the current global situation, when hundreds of languages are facing extinction each year, Bhojpuri, though stable now on the basis of its speakers, would get no time to meet extinction. In this context, the sociolinguistic survey of this language is the only means that can bring the facts and figures of the real situation, concept and attitude of the language speakers and necessity to take preventive measures on the basis of statistical data.

Therefore this survey has raised the following problems:

1. Is there word similarity among Bhojpuri speakers?
2. If there is word similarity, how much it is geographically, ethnically and religiously?
3. What is the attitude of the Bhojpuri speakers towards their mother tongue and other languages?
4. At different places and situations, what languages do the Bhojpuri speakers speak?

## 1.5 Objective of the Research

Sociolinguistics is a branch of Linguistics, which studies not only the language but its social situation also, because social situation seriously implicates the language use.

Historical, social, communal, religious and geographical elements affect the language in such a way that the same language is spoken variably in different geographical regions, communities, duration of time and religions. Such variability in a language is known as dialects of the same language.

Therefore, the main objective of this survey is to shed light on use of the Bhojpuri language, attitude of the native speakers towards Bhojpuri, their attitude towards other language/s and similarities and differences in lexical and syntactic structure in Bhojpuri. The followings are the main objectives formulated for this survey:

1. To find out lexical similarities and differences in Bhojpuri;
2. To find out similarities and differences in syntactic structures in Bhojpuri;
3. To find out the attitude of the Bhojpuri native speakers towards their own mother tongue as well as the other languages;
4. To find out the variability in the use of Bhojpuri by its native speakers as per the differences in time, situation, geographical boundaries and communities; and
5. To collect materials of the Bhojpuri folk literature.

## 1.6 Literature Review

First of all it must not be forgotten that Bhojpuri; as it is the language spoken by the labour class people, it has not received any kinds of state protection and promotion following the fall of the Bhojpur state, there have been efforts to limit it as a dialect of Hindi in India, there has been no concrete language policy in Nepal to foster languages other than Nepali, and categorically the Bhojpuri speakers are not aware of consequences of decline in their language and culture; has not yet become the subject of proper linguistic study till now. In this context, it is almost impossible to explore literature worked out under the genre of Sociolinguistics in Bhojpuri. Besides these, a lnguage can never be separated from society. That is why it is observed that a few rare linguistic works have been performed and also some other works done without prior knowledge of Linguistics, which include some Sociolinguistic elements. They are presented below in very short and brief in the columns of outside and inside Nepal.

### 1. Outside Nepal

Grierson, G. A. (1903) Linguistic Survey of India, Volume V Part-II: This research work is available in 19 volumes. In this work Grierson has presented almost all languages then being spoken in India with a very brief Linguistic

feature of each. A brief introduction to Bhojpuri including its stretch, population of Bhojpuri speakers and a Skeleton Grammar has been presented within page 40 till 53. Grierson has published what he says the National Anthem of Bhojpuri on Page no. 40 of the volume. The Anthem composed by Poet Giridhar is of great Sociolinguistic importance:

lāTʰi mẽ gun bəhut həi, sədā rəkʰihə saŋg
nədi nār əgādʰ jəl, təhã̄ bəcāwəi əŋg
təhã̄ bəcāwəi əŋg, jʰəpəT kutto ke mārəi
dusmən dāwāgir, hoe tinəhu ke jʰārəi
kəh giridʰər kəbi rāy, bāt ke bã̄dʰ yəh gã̄Tʰi
səb hətʰiyār ke cʰāRi, hãtʰ mẽ rākʰə lāTʰi
(A stout stick is very much useful, keep it always with you
It protects you diving deep rivers and streams
It protects you there and hits with a jump on a dog
Though your enemy is strong, it knocks him down
Poet Giridhar urges you to keep his words in mind
Hold a stout stick in your hand, leaving all weapons behind.

Shukla, S. (1981) Bhojpuri Grammar: This is the only Bhojpuri Grammar written under complete discipline of Linguistics. In the Introduction chapter of the book, Shukla has shed light on the different dialects of the Bhojpuri language keeping in mind the origin, development, social situation, expansion and socio-communal foundation of the language. After the Skeleton Grammar by Grierson, this is the Grammar of Bhojpuri in its full dimension.

Dixit, A. (1991) bʰojpuri bʰāsā ke əntərrāsTriyə swərup (The International Feature of the Bhojpuri Language): In this article, Dixit has reviewed the international feature of the Bhojpuri language, which includes specialities and differences in different Bhojpuri dialects on the basis of Geography, Society and Community.

Mishra, B. N. (1995) bʰojpuri ke mānəkikərən ke āwəsyəktā (Necessity of Standardization of Bhojpuri): In his article Dr. Mishra has discussed the geographical and communal diversity in the Bhojpuri language with vivid simplicity and shed light on the Sociolinguistic issue of the necessity of

standardization of the language. Concluding his essay, Dr. Mishra has stressed on the use of the lexemes for standardization of the language on the basis of the study of local language and derivational dictionary of Bhojpuri.

Yadav, S. C. (1995) bʰojpuri bʰāsā ke itihās: ego sĩhāwəlokən (History of the Bhojpuri Language: A Retrospect): In this article, Yadav has shed light on geographical and communal variation in Bhojpuri and has said that the cahange in a language due to social change is a natural phenomenon.

Tiwari, B. B. (1995) ādmi, sānskār ā sānskār git (Man, Rites and Ritual songs): In his article, Tiwari has viewed the probable change in the Bhojpuri folk songs in the context of changing social environment in the name of modernization. He has stressed on the need how the effect of Hindi films on popular folk songs in Bhojpuri society can be minimized.

Dixit, A. (1995) bʰojpuri lokgit ke bʰulāt-bisrət əns: pəcərā (A Portion of the Bhojpuri Folk Songs Being Forgotten: Pachara): in this brief article, Dixit has raised the issue of prayer of the ancestral deities in the Bhojpuri society locally known as Pachara and has stressed on the need how to preserve it.

Singh, J. N. (1995) jãtsāri ke Dubət nəiyā (The Sinking Boat of Jantsari): Mr. Singh in his article has shed light on the extinct position of Jantsari, a kind of laborer songs sung while working on Janta (grinding stones) previously. He has expressed satisfaction on the ease of such labour due to howler and grinding mills but expressed grave concern over extinction of Jantsari.

Shandilya, R. (1999) bʰojpuri gitõ kā mərm təthā ənyə nibəndʰ (The Secrets of the Bhojpuri Songs and Other Essays): Dr. (Mrs.) Shandilya has presented 20 research-oriented essays in the book to depict social, communal, gender and traditional situation in over all Bhojpuri surroundings. Her collections are praiseworthy for a Sociolinguistic study of Bhojpuri.

Tiwari, U. N. (2000) bʰojpuri bʰāsā əur sāhityə: ek sārāns (The Bhojpuri Language and Literature: A Summary): Dr. Tiwari has presented a brief history of Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias with their genetic feature, social surroundings together with the expansion of the Bhojpuri language and its impact for similarity and

diversity due to changing social and communal context. The work is praiseworthy from the point of view of Linguistics.

Dev, V. K. (2001) əb bʰojpur rājyə ke bāri (Now, the Turn of the Bhojpur State): In his research oriented article, Mr. Dev has stressed on the need for a provincial structure of Bhojpur state in India on the linguistic background. For his analogy, he has explained the geographical spread of the Bhojpuri speakers along with their population, social, communal and financial status and shed light on the history and present of the Bhojpurias.

**2. Inside Nepal**

Sharma, V. K. (2052 BS) nepɑl mɛ̃ bʰojpuri sāhityə ke stʰiti (Situation of the Bhojpuri Literature in Nepal): Fundamentally, the article by Dr Sharma focuses of the current situation of the composition of literature of Bhojpuri in Nepal. However, the short article has shed light on the Sociolinguistic elements of origin, social surroundings, genetic feature and geographical spread of Bhojpuri in Nepal.

Acharya, M. (2053 BS) bʰojpuri ukʰān Tukkā (The Bhojpuri Proverbs and Idioms): Mr. Acharya has begun a new step to transcribe the oral tradition of Bhojpuri presenting his book as a collection of proverbs, idioms, folk-sayings and so on, a praiseworthy work from Sociolinguistic point of view to study the Bhojpuri folk literature.

Yadava, Y. P. (2058 BS) The Bhojpuri Language: This is the first Linguistic article in Nepal to introduce the Bhojpuri language. In his short article Dr. Yadava has shed light on the origin, popular and less known names, spread area, dialects, genetic affiliation and multilingualism among Bhojpuri speakers in short and sweet manner.

Sinha, R. S. (2058 BS) nepāl ke səikcʰik prənāli mɛ̃ bʰojpuri (Bhojpuri in the Educational System of Nepal): Mr. Sinha has shed light on importance for standardization of Bhojpuri and its real status in formal education in his short article.

Mishra, B. D. (2059 BS) biswə səndərbʰ mɛ̃ bʰojpuri (Bhojpuri in the Global Context): In his article, Dr. Mishra has shed light on origin, spread, language family, oral tradition, contact with other languages and changing feature of

Bhojpuri as well as weaknesses of the Bhojpuri speakers. He has emphasized on the need for Bhojpuri as a medium of instruction for primary education, adult education and women education in Bhojpuri speaking area.

Sinha R. S. (2059 BS) bʰojpuri: təb ā əb (Bhojpuri: Then and Now): In this essay, Mr. Sinha has summed up the history and present situation of Bhojpuri, the place it secured on behalf of the state in Nepal, the achievements made in the field, promotion and development of the scope of Bhojpuri both in Nepal and India along with its social environment.

'Aska', G. (2060 BS) bʰojpuri kəlā-kəusəl (Bhojpuri Arts and Skills): Mr. Aska has shed light on Arts and Skills available in the Bhojpuri society, especially the contribution made by Bhojpuri women in the field, religious goodwill and tolerance and the status of arts and skills in traditional division of labour in Bhojpuri society.

Chaudhary, A. K. (2060 BS) Sociolinguistic Survey of Tharu Language, Central Nepal: In his dissertation for M. A. in Linguistics from T. U., the data of the language what he has presented is Bhojpuri from the Sociolinguistic point of view. Besides, the concerned speakers are fully independent under their fundamental rights to decide whether it is a language or dialect of a particular language what they speak. So Mr. Chaudhary is independent for his expression in his research.

## 1.7 Research Methodology

Methodology plays a significant role for a research work. Various methods can be used for a research such as field observation, field visit, interview, sampling questionnaire, library study and so on.

Therefore some particular methods certainly have been used during this Survey. They are the following:

### 1. Field Visit

This Survey is mainly based on field observation. Data have been collected following both the processes: written and oral. Direct contact and interactions have been done with Bhojpurias of Saralahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi.

During the field visit contact and interaction were made with adult, semi-adult, youth and adolescent Bhojpurias. It was done so as to involve Bhojpurias from all walks of life such as people from different age groups, occupations, religions, sex, and educational backgrounds so that more accurate findings could be retrieved. The researcher made his efforts to collect data from the indigenous Bhojpuri speaking areas as far as it was practicable. Besides, the deteriorating situation of peace and security in the country, some information was gathered from the indigenous Bhojpurias even living in the capital belonging to different business communities to some extent. So, Bhojpuria people living in capital had also been interviewed. It was kept in mind the informers should have been native Bhojpuri speakers and minimum educated so that the data collected could be far from the influence of other languages.

In this way, the entire data have been collected in such a way that the use of Bhojpuri language, attitude of Bhojpurias towards Bhojpuri as well as towards other languages, lexical and syntactic similarity and diversity could be shed light on.

To meet the target, 200 Bhojpurias were contacted from all districts; Sarlahi in the east and Rupandehi in the west; representing all areal, religious and communal sectors. Among them 100 were interviewed in black and white and 100 were interacted orally.

The following methods have been used in data collection during field visit:

**(a) Formation, Distribution and Collection of Word List**

First of all a list of 4500 basic words related to human life and universe was developed. The word list is mainly based on the sample word-list developed by Tribhuvan University, Central Department of Linguistics, basically written in Nepali and translated in English as well. Necessary amendments were made in the list in the context of the spoken language of the people of Bara and Parsa districts. Afterwards the modified word list was submitted to Bhojpurias belonging to different castes, creed and geographical locations seeking probable variations in language use. In this way the varieties of the same words were collected. After collection, 1500 words under random selection are presented in appendices of this Survey report for discussion and analysis.

**(b) Formation, Distribution and Collection of Sentence list:**

The same process as mentioned above has been followed for preparation, distribution and collection of different dialect varieties for 300 basic Bhojpuri sentences among which a selection of 200 random sample sentences is given in appendices of this Survey report for discussion and analysis.

**(c) Sociolinguistic Questionnaire:**

A Sociolinguistic questionnaire was developed into 100 copies, distributed and collected from Bhojpurias to gather findings of sociolinguistic significance about the use of Bhojpuri language in Bhojpuri speaking region, attitude of Bhojpurias towards mother tongue and other languages, influence of other languages on Bhojpuri and vice versa, and the situation of bilingualism and multilingualism in their daily life. The questionnaire is based on Bases of Sociolinguistic Study developed by T.U. Central Department of Linguistics and Socio-linguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. The questionnaire includes 65 primary and a few secondary questions.

**(d) Oral Interview**

Besides word list, sentence list and questionnaire; oral interview has also been performed to collect various ganres of the Bhojpuri language keeping in view with the long oral tradition of Bhojpurias. During such occasions, popular folk-tales, folk-songs, proverbs and puzzles having highly sociolinguistic importancewere. Brief samples of the folk literature are given in appendices.

**(e) Interaction**

The necessary reaction, advice and suggestions were gathered through frequent interaction with different individuals and institutions working for upliftment and promotion of the Bhojpuri language and traditions including the Bhojpuri Academy of Nepal and the World Bhojpuri Convention, National Unit of Nepal to accomplish the Survey in an effective manner.

**2. Library Study**

To meet the objective of collecting information for literature review, population distribution, geographical location and reviewing and analyzing the data collected during the field visit and also to acquire other information when needed for an

overall organization of this Survey report, different kinds of information were received visiting the following libraries in the Kathmandu Valley:

(a) Central library of Tribhuvan University
(b) Library of the Central Department of Linguistics, T. U.
(c) Nepal-India library
(d) Library of the Central Bureau of Statistics
(e) Library of the Royal Nepal Academy

## 1.8 Delimitation of the Research

This Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bhojpuri Language has been accomplished from within the Bhojpuri speakers spread in Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of Nepal. The bases of the Survey are the geographical, communal and religious similarity and diversity in the use of the language among Bhojpurias.

Besides this survey is limited within the lexical similarity and diversity of Bhojpuri, use of the language and language attitude of the Bhojpurias. Further more the analysis of the data is more descriptive, less theoretical.

## 1.9 Organization of the Research

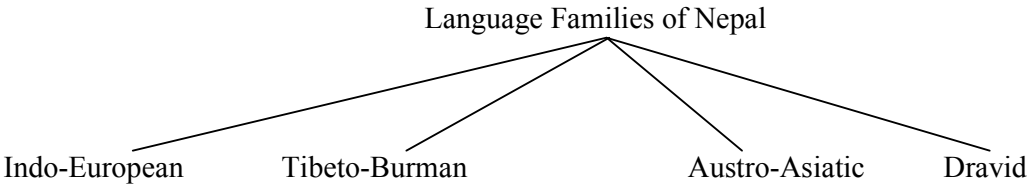
1. Chapter One: Introduction to the Subject-matter
2. Chapter Two: Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias
3. Chapter Three: Bhojpuri Grammar
4. Chapter Four: Sociolinguistic Findings and Analysis
5. Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations
6. Appendices
7. References

# CHAPTER TWO

## Bhojpuri & Bhojpurias

### 2.1 Background

Though Nepal is a small state geographically, there are languages spoken here belonging to four language families:




Bhojpuri belongs to the western sub-branch of the Bihari branch of the Eastern sub-group of the Indo-Aryan Group of the Indo-European family of languages. In spite of its history of more than a millennium, discussion and research works date only from the 19th century A. D. in this language. Along with the spread of Bhojpurias in Diaspora, Bhojpuri has reached almost every nook and corner of the world. But very little has been done to study Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias in a concrete way. The modern literature of Bhojpuri is considered to commence from 'sudʰābrind' by Maharaj Lala Bahadur Malla in 1884 in India and 'bəuā əur bəhuriā' by Ram Prasad Ray Tharu in 2019 Bikram Era (BS) in Nepal. Besides, the foreigners are ahead to use their pen at first for the Bhojpuri language. Among these Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson in 1903 plays a significant role.

To introduce Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias closely, this chapter includes identity, origin and history, geographical spread, population distribution of the Bhojpuri language as well as the religion and culture of the Bhojpurias.

### 2.2 Origin & History

From Bhojpur, a place near Baxar belonging to the district of Shahabad in the northern Indian state of Bihar, the language named Bhojpuri and the inhabitants Bhojpurias, are thought to have spread in western Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh in India as well as in the adjacent Madheshi territory of Nepal from Sarlahi in the east till Rupandehi in the west. This Bhojpuri speaking belt was divided into two nationalities following the Sugauli Treaty reached between the then Government of Nepal and the Government of British India in 1816. In reality, the Bhojpurias do not feel any linguistic and cultural

boundary due to unhindered and regular movement among each other between the two states besides the political partition into two nationalities.

The origin of the Bhojpuri language has been traced briefly in Chapter One. Most of the scholars agree with the fact that Bhojpuri got its name after Bhojpur near Baxar in the District of Shahabad in Bihar at present. But Binod Kumar Dev, in his article *əb bʰojpur rājyə ke bāri (Now the Turn of Bhojpur State)*[1] , has shed light upon an unknown fact. He argues that Bhojpuri has one more name, *kāsikā* related to Kashi. According to him, nearly 1400 years ago, 'Bhoj Bindu' was the king of Kashi. As Kashi has still been a renowned Hindu religious pilgrimage, he was suggested not to place his capital any more there. He accepted it and migrated his capital in the Ram Charitar woods near Baxar from Kashi. Afterwards, the Kashi state was named after him as Bhojpur, the territory of Bhoj, and the official language of the state Bhojpuri. His analogy is convincing as Bhojpuri in India is also classified as Kasika.

Subhash Chandra Yadav, in his article, *bʰojpuri bʰāsā ke itihās: eg̣o sinhāwəlokən (History of the Bhojpuri Language: A Retrospect)*[2], has quoted Shahabad reporter of Bukanan (1812) as saying Karush Kshetra, the name of Bhojpuri region where at first Mihir Bhoj, a Kannauj king, settled a town named Bhojpur. After two centuries, Parmar dynasty king Bhoj defeated the original inhabitant kings of Chero race and established the state of Ujjain Kshatris (warriors). He settled another town named New Bhojpur and named his capital after his ancestors Bhojpur again.

Dr. Uday Narayan Tiwari also accepts Dr. Bukanan's visit to Bhojpur Block in 1812 and supports Mr. Yadav's fact in his article, *bʰojpuri bʰāsā əur sāhityə: ek sārāns (The Bhojpuri Language and Literature: A Summary)*[3]. In the same article Dr. Tiwari has quoted a rhyme published on the first page of Grierson's Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Subdialects of Bihari Language, Part One:

kəs kəs kəsmər kinā məgəhiyā
kā bʰojpuriā ki tirhutiyā

For interrogative pronoun, *kā*, at a certain place in Saran there is *kəs* whereas it is uttered *kin* in Magahi, *kā* in Bhojpuri and *ki* in Tirhutiya (Maithili). The same extract

1. Mahabhojpur (Quarterly) Year1, Jan-March 2001.

2.Dumari Katek Dur (A Collection of Representative Bhojpuri Essays from Saran Block, edited by Axaybar Dixit & Dr. Tiyab Hussein 'Pidit')

3. Second World Bhojpuri Convention on Bhojpuri in Diaspora, Mauritius.

of Grierson is enough to clarify that Maithili, Bhojpuri and Magahi are no more the dialects of Bihari language as he has classified in his Linguistic Survey of India, but separate and independent languages on their own. The reason is clear, there no language exists independently named Bihari anywhere.

When we go through the syntactic structure, it becomes clearer. The present tense sentence with third person subject ends with *əic$^{h}$* or *t$^{h}$ik* in Maithili, *həi* in Magahi and *bā, bāTe* or *hə* in Bhojpuri.

Regarding authenticity of the use of the Bhojpuri language, Yadav (1994) believes commencement of Bhojpuri with the compositions of Sidhha cult in seventh or eighth century A. D. Pandit Deep Narayan Mishra in his article, *b$^{h}$ojpuri-nepāli səmbənd$^{h}$ (Bhojpuri-Nepali Relation)*[4], and Ram Swarup Sinha (2059 BS), in his article *b$^{h}$ojpuri: təb ā əb (Bhojpuri: Then and Now)*[5], believe the Bhojpuri literature started from the creation of Saint Chauranginath of Siddha cult:

sətyə bədəntə cəurəŋginātʰ ādi əntəri sunəu britānt
sāl bāhən dʰəre həmār jənə utpəti sətimā jʰuTʰ nā bə lilā

(Chauranginath tells the truth, listen to the matter of beginning and end. I was originated with riding a lion. It's true.)

Likewise, Yadav (1994) quotes *ukti-byəkti-prəkərən (Sayings-Personality-Context)* and reveals that Bhojpuri was said to be Banarasi language in the 12$^{th}$ century.

The language started from Bhojpur became Bhojpuri and inhabitants Bhojpuria or Bhojpurias. History gives evidence, the human civilization starts from jungle. It's another matter the urban civilization has become highly developed and cultured. So how can Bhojpuri be an exception? Of course, the primitive Bhojpuri civilization has its roots in jungle. It's mentioned above, Bhojpur was settled in Ram Charitar woods. Therefore, the residing places of Bhojpurias named ārā, sārən, cəmpārən are the deviated forms of ārənyə, sārənyə, cəmpārənyə respectively. Aranya is the proto-Sanskrit word for forest or jungle. Consequently, the Bhojpurias still come out of residence with a stout stick even taller than themselves. It's legacy of their jungle civilization where ancestor Bhojpuias had to use it to protect

4. Sagar (pp 53-54)

5. Bhojpuri, Class IX, Curriculum Development Centre, Sanothimi, Bhaktapur.

himself or herself from wild beasts. The folk rhyme to introduce Bhojpurias still exists:

mātʰe pəgəri kānhe ləTʰ
təb dekʰĩ bʰojpuriā TʰəR

The man standing with a turban on his head and a stout stick on his shoulder is a Bhojpuria one.

This is the reason some people still blame on Bhojpuras to be brutal, which is totally baseless. This has not been the choice of Bhojpurias, but a compulsion only. Any way the history of Bhojpurias reveals that Bhojpuri culture is a representation of gallantry and boldness. A popular folk saying about Bhojpurias is given below:

bʰāgəlpur ke bʰəgoliā
kəhəlgā̃w ke Tʰəg
pəTnā ke dewəliā
tinu nāmijəd
suni pāwe bʰojpuriā
tə tinu ke ture rəg

Bhagolia (fleeing) of Bhagalpur, thug of Kahalgaon and dewalia (bankrupt) of Patna are all three renowned. But if the acts of them are known to Bhojpurias, they will certainly be punished.

Besides these specific gallantry and feelings of nationality, innumerable Indian city-states fell under the regimes of Moghals and Britons respectively due to mutual misunderstanding and conflict. But those foreign powers had to fight a long battle relatively with Bhojpurias. Dr. Tiwari (1995) has quoted Blochman for an extract to depict the fight between the then Bhojpur King Dalpat and Emperor Akbar. Likewise, he has also quoted the revolt against British regime by Prince Baboo Kunwar Singh during Anti-British revolution till 1857. Bhojpur state ruined only after the revolt by Baboo Kunwar Singh met a failure.

Due to history of gallantry of Bhojpurias there had been two recruit centers for Mughal and British armies in Baxar.

Dr. Tiwari has quoted Grierson to shed light on dashing character of Bhojpurias. He has quoted an extract from page 22 of the first volume of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India:

1789 -- " Two days after, as a regiment of sepoys on its way to Chunar Garh, was marching through the city at daybreak, I went out, and was standing to see it pass by, the regiment halted; and a few men from the centre ran into a dark lane, and laid hold of a hen and some roots; the people screamed. 'Do not make much noise', said one of the men in his Bodjpoorias idiom. We go today with the Frenghees, but we are all servants (tenants) to Cheyt Singh, and may come back tomorrow with him, and then the question will be not about your roots but your wives and daughters."

But Bhojpuri culture is nature and peace loving. They never lose temper unless they are attacked or abused. The following rhyme confirms the reality:

dud$^{h}$ məŋbə k$^{h}$ir dehəb
besi bolbə cir dehəb

(If you ask me for milk I'll serve you rice pudding. But in case you be over, I'll knock you down.)

The few extracts mentioned above make it clear that Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias have been more ancient than the current nationalities of both, Nepal and India. But it is also shameful to face the reality of the Nepalese nationality that has not been eager enough to step below the Churia hilly range. In other words, Madhesh and Madheshis with their linguistic identities as Bhojpurias, Tirhutias and Awadhias under the Nepalese nationality are still thought to be linked with Indian nationality, directly or indirectly. I can only urge one and all not to dismantle Bhojpuri sentiments as Bhojpurias have been living and cultivating their own soil for time immemorial.

## 2.3 Geographical Location

Bhojpuri is spoken in Sarlhahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Chitwan, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi districts of Madhesh in Nepal and the adjacent Indian territories of western Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh that include the districts of East Champaran, West Champaran, Gopalganj, Siwan, Saran, Bhojpur, Baliya, Baxar, Rohatas, Bhabhua, Kushinagar (Dewaria), Mau, Gajipur, Varanasi, Sonbhadra, Maharajganj,

Siddharthnagar, Basti, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Chandauli and Siddhi.

Chandradiya Pandey (1994) has extracted a song in his article *Bhojpuri*[6] by Prof. Manoranjan Pd Sinha that locates the Bhojpuri speaking boundary n the Indian territories:

(The song is a call by a mother or nurse to the moon saying 'moon uncle' to please a baby requesting the moon to make a trip to all Bhojpuri speaking areas and come with milk and rice in a golden bowl to feed the baby.)

ho cəndā māmā
āre āwə cʰəprā āwə, bəliyā, motihāri āwə
rɑ̃ci āur pəlāmu āwə, gorəkʰpur dewəriā āwə
gājipur ājəmgəRʰ āwə, bəsti ā jəunpur āwə
mirjāpur bənārəs āwə, sone kā kəToriā mɛ̃
dudʰ bʰāt lele āwə, bəbuā ke muhwā mɛ̃ gʰuTuk

This researcher thinks to add the following lines regarding Bhojpuri speaking places in Nepal in the above nursery rhymes to integrate the whole Bhojpuri speaking area both in Nepal and India:

məlәŋwā āwə, gəur āwə, kəleyā ā birgɑ̃j āwə
pərsā ā bʰərətpur āwə, pərāsi ā bʰəirəhwā āwə
sone kā kəToriā mɛ̃ dudʰ bʰāt lele āwə
bəbuā ke muhwā mɛ̃ gʰuTuk

Likewise, the Indian Public Census[7], 1991 numbers Bhojpuri speakers in India to be 52,447,916 with an area of 89,302.2 square kilometers whereas the Nepalese Public Census slotted Bhojpuri speaking area of 9,409 square kilometers and Bhojpuri speaking population to be 1,712,536.

Besides these, Bhojpurias have spread in almost all towns and cities of Nepal and India as well as in foreign countries as immigrants and are featuring their language as an international one. For instance, Bhojpurias have been handling the state following independence of Mauritius. They also got opportunity to form government in Fiji some

6. Dumari Katek Dur (A Collection of Representative Bhojpuri Essays from Saran Block, edited by Axaybar Dixit & Dr. Tiyab Hussein 'Pidit')
7. Mahabhojpur (Quarterly) Year1, Jan-March 2001.

time ago. Likewise, they have reported their healthy presence in every nook and corner of the globe including Trinidad, Tobago, Goanna, Suriname and South Africa.

This researcher himself took part in the Second World Bhojpuri Convention on theme Bhojpuri in Diaspora and met Bhojpurias from a dozen of countries in the world.

## 2.4 Population Distribution

As the limitation of this survey is the Nepalese Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias, the Nepalese Bhojpuri populace is presented here in accordance with the report of Public Census, 2001 in Nepal:

| S. No. | District's Name | Population | Bhojpurias | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sarlahi | 635,701 | 118,105 | 18.58 |
| 2. | Rautahat | 545,132 | 183,217 | 33.61 |
| 3. | Bara | 559,135 | 425,442 | 76.09 |
| 4. | Parsa | 497,219 | 415,489 | 83.56 |
| 5. | Chitwan | 472,048 | 3,487 | 0.01 |
| 6. | Nawalparasi | 562,870 | 183,422 | 32.59 |
| 7. | Rupandehi | 708,419 | 357,917 | 50.52 |
| | Total | 3,980,524 | 1687,079 | 42.38 |

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

The internal migration of non-Bhojpuri speakers and a shift of the Tharu population from Bhojpuri in recent days are responsible for a very thin population of Bhojpurias in Chitwan.

Besides, Bhojpuri migrants are available in all the districts of Nepal except Manang, Rukum, Dolpa and Kalikot.

Likewise 7.42% of the whole population and 98.51% of the Bhojpuria population, Bhojpurias live at their native places and others as migrants in Nepalese territories.

Similarly, since the Public Census began in Nepal, the ratio of the Bhojpuria population to the national one has been observed as given below:

| Year (A. D.) | 1952-54 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Pop. | 4,235,079 | 9,412,996 | 11,555,986 | 15,022,839 | 18,491,097 | 11,736,934 |
| Bhojpurias | 477,281 | 577,357 | 806,480 | 1,142,805 | 1,3797,17 | 1,712,536 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ratio | 5.8% | 6.13% | 6.98% | 7.61% | 7.46% | 7.53% |

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

Studying the rate of population growth in the country the growth in population of Bhojpurias from 1952 to 1981 is increasing whereas it has sharply decreased in 1991. Relatively it has again regained a slight increase in 2001. The cause behind this might be an issue of study.

## 2.5 Language

During this research *Bhojpuri* denotes the language and *Bhojpuria* in Singular and *Bhojpurias* in plural number for the Bhojpuri speakers. Similarly, dialects of Bhojpuri are classified in different ways. But as per the limitation of this research is the Nepalese Bhojpuri area, geographically, from Jamuni river westward in Bara up to whole Parsa district is the central Bhojpuri region, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi western Bhojpuri region, Jamuni eastward in Bara up to Bakeya river in Rautahat mid eastern Bhojpuri region and Bakeya eastward up to Sarlahi is the eastern Bhojpuri region.

Similarly, on the basis of community, the dialect spoken by Tharu community in Rautahat is considered as Tharu Bhojpuri and on the religious basis, the dialect of Sheikh community of Muslims in central and western part of Rautahat is considered as Sheikh dialect of Bhojpuri.

The central Bhojpuri dialect in the entire Bhojpuri speaking area is nearer to Champarani Bhojpuri in India. It means neither it is influenced by Awadhi nor by Maithili. The sentences with action verb in present tense end in *bā, bāni, tā tāni*.

e.g.

uhãkā ām kʰāt bāni/kʰātāni.
(He is eating a mango. Honorific)

həm ām kʰāt bāni/kʰātāni.
(I am eating a mango.)

u ām kʰāt bā/kʰātā.
(He is eating a mango. Non-honorific)

Towards east, in the mid-eastern Bhojpuri, the endings in the same situation are replaced with *bāRi* or *tāRi* and even *cʰi*.

e. g.

həm gʰəre jāit bāRi/jāitāRi/jāit cʰi.
(I am going home.)

When we go more eastward, the use of *bāRi* or *tāRi* is overshadowed by *cʰi* and consequently, the language turns to be Maithili.

Likewise, the western Bhojpuri uses *bāTi*. It has also left implication on central Bhojpuri in the form of *bāTe*.

In the Tharu community, the place is slotted by *si*.

e. g.
həm ām kʰāisi
(I'm eating a mango.)

This particular dialect seems to be in rare use of honorificity. They use *rəuā* or *əpne* to some extent to address the strangers in place of *you* in English. These are the honorific second person pronouns in Bhojpuri. Besides, this researcher has also experienced the use of *hin* during communication between Tharus themselves in the slot.

On religious basis, Sheikh Bhojpuri lacks having *rəuā* or *əpne*. *tu* replaces the slot. The honorificity is denoted by *ə* at the end of the sentences. Otherwise the sentences are thought to be non-honorific.

e. g.
tu gʰəre cələ.
Please move for home. (Honorific)

tu gʰəre cəl.
Move for home. (Non-honorific)

Central Bhojpuri does also have the similarity for family members and neighborhood. Outside, Central Bhojpuri has the structure *rəuā gʰəre cəlĩ* or *əpne gʰəre cələl jāo* for the extract above from Sheikh Bhojpuri. It is learnt that the lack of honorificity in

Sheikh Bhojpuri has occurred due to marital affairs to happen between old relationships. That is why there is no necessity of honorificity to maintain formality among relatives.

The medium of this research is English with extract and examples in Bhojpuri transcribed in SIL IPA font. At some places some symbols from Devanagari have also been presented for more clarification.

When we talk about promotion and development of Bhojpuri, it's obvious that there was no means of education till the fall of the autocratic Rana regime that came into existence only within a century following the campaign of the expansion of the then Gurkha Kingdom into a modern kingdom of Nepal. There was no alternative for Bhojpuri other than to exist in oral tradition.

Following the establishment of freedom by 1951 revolution in Nepal, Thakur Ram College was established in Birganj and Ram Dev Dwivedi 'Almast' came from India as a lecturer of Hindi. It's believed reading and writing in Bhojpuri started in Nepal under his initiation. This researcher has met local people saying 'Almast' used to compose Bhojpuri poetry and recite in literary seminars basically organized in Nepali or Hindi. But listeners got inspired and excited to taste a new flavour in their own native language. 'Almast's poems took the place of appetizer before meal. During the same period the peasants' leaders including Harihar Yadav and Nandan Aryal started creation of labour literature in Bhojpuri. But this flow almost lost its way following establishment of Panchayat system in 1960. Bhojpurias are thankful to Ram Prasad Ray Tharu for his novel *tʰəruhəT ke bəuā əur bəhuriā* (Bride and Bridegroom of Tharu Community).

Pandit Deep Narayan Mishra and some other Bhojpurias made organized efforts for upliftment of Bhojpuri. *nepāl bʰojpuri səmāj* (Nepal Bhojpuri Society) was constituted. But this too could not absorb speed. Afterwards, following the popular movement in Nepal in 1990; Nepal Bhojpuri Society, Council for Bhojpuri Literature and Arts in Nepal, Bhojpuri Academey of Nepal, Nepal-India Bhojpuri Friends' Forum, Bhojpuri Intellectual Development Forum, Academy of Bhojpuri Classics of Nepal and Nepal Unit of the World Bhojpuri Convention came into existence and have been pacing forward for preservation and promotion of Bhojpuri sentiments.

'The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990'[8] following the popular movement in the kingdom in the same year, has also ascertained some lingual rights of the Nepalese for non-Nepali languages. Article 18 of the Constitution states:

Cultural and Educational Right:

1. Each community residing within the Kingdom of Nepal shall have the right to preserve and promote its language, script and culture.
2. Each community shall have the right to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children.

Likewise, the Article 6 of the Constitution clarifies 'Language of the Nation':

1. The Nepali language in the Devnagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official language.
2. All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in various parts of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.

The constitutional provisions quoted above show that the state is solely accountable only for preservation, promotion and development of the official language of the state, Nepali, but has been averted from any of the such responsibilities for all other national languages including Bhojpuri. The Constitution has made the concerned language speaking community be responsible for their respective languages. This is the major fact to consider that the curriculum as well as the textbooks in other national languages developed under the government's initiative itself is still far behind from implementation. The mysterious provision is that these languages classified under the Mother tongue group are not included in aggregate. It means the Mother tongue subject is not obligatory. Whether the learners pass or not this subject, it does not affect their promotion in study.

The news in national languages including Bhojpuri in Radio Nepal has not been promoted further than translation of the so-called mother bulletin in Nepali. The weekly Bhojpuri programme, Sangam, is also facing problems of inappropriate time, negligible time-duration and insufficient manpower. Consequently, it has till now been limited in broadcasting a few songs repeatedly.

8. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990.

Besides, there has not been accomplished any linguistic works in Bhojpuri specifically. It's another matter the Royal Nepal Academy publishes some articles in its magazines, *səmkālin (Contemporary)* and *səyəpətri (Marigold)*. Sometimes, some works in Bhojpuri often are seen in book-size, but performed by non-Bhojpuri speakers more. This is the first time the Royal Nepal Academy has sponsored for this research in the field of Linguistics for the Bhojpuri language. This researcher is thankful to the Academy.

## 2.6 Social Situation

It's mentioned above that the Bhojpuri civilization has commenced from wild lifestyle. It's still been relied basically upon agriculture. That's why; the Bhojpurias have gathered their recognition in the field of agriculture and animal farming. They grow food-grains, fruits, lentils, vegetables, oil-grains and keep cows, buffaloes, goats and so on.

But majority of Bhojpurias still have no means other than selling labor as a consequence of medieval feudal economy giving birth to capitalism. Bhojpurias scattered in Diaspora have reached there due to the same reason seeking for a sale of their physical labour in global market. History states, Bhojpurias reached in Mauritius under a tripartite agreement with the then colonial powers, France and Britain for sugar-cane farming. 'Girmit' is Bhojpurization of 'agreement', and so, those Bhojpuria laborers are still known as Girmitia laborers. Crowds of Bhojpuri girmitia laborers reached in Diaspora in the course of time in the 19$^{th}$ century and became successful to cultivate and harvest the land for agro-product more precious than 'gold'. They raised self-awareness too and have now brought heaven on land there.

Madhesh (terrain land) is the granary of Nepal and Bhojpuri area is renowned there for the highest fertility. Bhojpurias are still there in their ancestral occupation, agriculture and animal farming. Part of the terrain jungle, though limited now in a popular Nepali proverb, '*həriyo bən nepāl ko d$^{h}$ən*' (The Green Forest, the Wealth of Nepal) is still remaining in the Bhojpuri area. But this area has never been able to draw attention of the state for preservation and promotion of what it deserves, and is now living in a state of hunger in presence of granaries, thirst having sufficient water and begging being wealthy.

This is like a cow that can be milked unlimitedly on minimum fodder but is being milked on no fodder. Consequently, Bhojpurias are forced to seek for job in different cities of India and abroad. Some time ago there were *Paddy-Rice Export Companies* established in bordering towns but now it's being felt the need of establishing *Rice-Paddy Import Companies* in the area.

On religious ground, the Hindu Caste System still plays a dominant role in the Bhojpuri Society. Traditionally, it is a common society of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra castes. The system of untouchability still exists in Bhojpuri society. Consequently, a major part of the society is living a life worse than presumed in hell till date being so-called lower caste locally known as *əcʰop*, *əcʰut* or *dəlit* (down-trodden).

Generally, Brahmins, though not rich economically, deserve supreme superiority and enjoy a prestigious life.

Kshatriya community of Rajputs and Bhumihars has still been landlords.

Vaishyas also include both, touchable and untouchable castes. But gradual economic growth in Vaishyas has been removing the problems of untouchability in recent days. But at the same time those economically weak are facing a kind of social exclusion. For example: *həjām* (barbar), *lohār* (blacksmith), and *māli* (floriculturist) are touchable but compelled to stretch their palm before the untouchable wealthy Vaishyas. These castes are locally known as *pəuni* and a proverb regarding *pəuni* reveals how the society looks at them, *pəuni ke dəuni kəisən* (Paunis should gather no harvest).

Shudras' life is more deteriorating. They are subject to do all physical labour but barred form utilizing any products facing untouchability. They build house but cannot enter after *gʰərpujā* (a ritual for formal entry of the house owners). They dig the well but are not allowed to carry water. One incident is very interesting. Marriage ceremony of all castes is incomplete until the *dom* (a caste who works with bamboo and rattan to knit containers) brings *dālā* (a bamboo container to perform wedding rituals) but he is only provided the food left over by eating in a feast.

This is the root cause why a large number of downtrodden Bhojpurias turned Muslims following Muslim invasion on the land. Today also, whatever the provisions are there

to curb religious conversion in Nepal, people are turning Christians high in number. Only they are waiting for a change in the situation to announce publicly.

Bhojpuri society includes Hindus and Muslims on religious ground, Tharu and Baji (a name given by Tharu for non-Tharu people) on communal ground. Besides, the religious and communal tolerance is integral part of the Bhojpuri society in Nepal. Only the need is to eliminate the inhumane system of untouchability in the Hindu society.

Besides, the superstitious practices of witches, magic-spell, ghosts and animal-sacrifice are also found as the remains of medieval period.

In spite of strength and weaknesses, the Bhojpuri society has also given births to renowned personalities. For example; First Indian President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, world famous Philosopher and Writer Rahul Sankirtayan, Shakespeare of Bhojpuri Playwright Bhikhari Thakur and great poet of Nepalese Bhojpuri Gopal 'Aska' and so on.

Let's enjoy a song by the researcher on the journey, achievements and progressive thoughts of Bhojpurias from origin to climax:

Bhojpuria[9]

purub, pəc$^{h}$im, uttər, dəkk$^{h}$in, jãĩ kəwno oriā
məsin hoi kəwno cəlāi b$^{h}$ojpuriā

b$^{h}$ārət-nepāl ekər jəriyā mokām rəhəl
d$^{h}$ərti se sonwā ugāwe ke kām rəhəl
duk$^{h}$ ke pəhaR pər bənāwe i Dəgəriā
məsin hoi kəwno cəlāi b$^{h}$ojpuriā

fiji, morisas, TrinidāD cāhe surinām
jinəgi ke kāgəj pər əmər kəile nām
sərəg bənāwe jəhã Dāle i nəjəriā
məsin hoi kəwno cəlāi b$^{h}$ojpuriā

kol$^{h}$u, krəsər, t$^{h}$resər, cəkki, hālər cəlāwelā
jəlyān, relgaRi, rəukeT uRāwelā

9. Gamak 14

kʰoje nəyā duniā ke nəykā Dəgəriā
məsin hoi kəwno cəlāi bʰojpuriā

(East, west, north, south; wherever you go, you'll meet Bhojpurias operating all kinds of machines, no matter whoever manufactured them.

India and Nepal are their ancestral home and agriculture their occupation. They know how to pave the way even through the vicissitudes.

They have built history on their own in the foreign lands like Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad and Suriname and their name, in this regard, will remain immortal. They bring heaven to the earth wherever they reach and behold.

Whether there are peelers, crushers, threshers, howlers and grinding mills or ships, railway trains and rockets; they operate them successfully. They always think how to explore a new world and pave a new way there.)

# CHAPTER THREE

## Bhojpuri Grammar

### 3.1 Background

Traditional grammarians define grammar as a genre of study that teaches how to speak and write a language correctly. But from the point of view of Linguistics, this definition seems grammar to be primary and the language to be secondary phenomena, whereas the reality is upside down. The reason is clear. There are so many languages living in the world without any grammar in existence but without language a grammar is out of imagination. Certainly, grammar should only follow the language, not vice versa. But it's also true a language can never be studied systematically even in absence of grammar. It reveals that there must be grammar if a language exists, it doesn't matter the native speakers do not need any theoretical knowledge of the grammar of their mother tongue. Besides, a mother very easily teaches her language to her children without any theoretical knowledge of grammar. The fact is convincing, where there is a language, there is grammar, no matter it is concrete or abstract.

Therefore, grammar may be defined as a scientific system to study a particular language so that any one who masters the vocabulary and have knowledge of grammar of a language can learn and study the language.

Keeping the view in mind, a brief introduction to Bhojpuri Grammar is presented below in an effort to shed light on the linguistic systems in Bhojpuri.

### 3.2 Sound System

A language is first listened and spoken and then it's read and written. The sound that helps a language to be listened, spoken and understood is said to be a 'Phone'. When any two phones are used in the same environment and the meanings differ, the phones are considered to be 'Phoneme', independent to each other; but in case the meanings do not differ, they are considered to be 'Allophone' of the same phoneme.

e. g.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pāTā | 'yoke' | pātā | 'leaf' | (T and t are phonemes.) |
| deʃ | 'country' | des | 'country' | (ʃ and s are allophones of s.) |

## 1. Consonants

Consonant sounds involve stoppage, friction or notable turbulence of the the air stream as they pass through the vocal tract.

Bhojpuri consonants may be classified accordingly in the following ways:

**(a) On the basis of manner of articulation:**

(i) Stop: When the air stream is momentarily stopped by closure at some point of the oral cavity with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity, e. g. p, t, k.

(ii) Fricative: When the air stream is forced througn a narrow opening in the oral cavity with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity; e. g. s, h.

(iii) Affricate: When with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity, the air stream is momentarily stopped in the oral cavity as in the production of a 'stop' but the stop immediately be released rather forcibly into a 'fricative' — so quickly as to give the impression of a single scraping sound rather than of a stop followed by a fricative; e. g. c, $c^h$, j, $j^h$.

(iv) Nasal: When the air stream is momentarily stopped by closure at some point of the oral cavity but simultaneously allowed to escape through the nasal cavity; e. g. ŋ, n, m.

(v) Lateral: When the air stream is allowed to flow freely through the oral cavity along the sides of the tongue but is stopped along the medial line of the mouth by the tongue with simultaneous closure of the nasal cavity; e. g. l.

(vi) Flap: When the air stream is momentarily stopped by a single flap or quickly repeated multiple flaps; e. g. ʀ, $ʀ^h$.

(vii) Trill: When the trill of the tip of the tongue against alveolar ridge occurs as the air flows through the oral cavity; e. g. r.

(viii) Glide: When the body of the tongue glides towards or away from a more prominent adjacent vowel; e. g. y, w.

**(b) On the basis of place of articulation:**

(i) Bilabial: When the point of articulation is meeting the upper and lower lips; e. g. p, $p^h$, b, $b^h$, m.

(ii) Dental: When in articulation, the tip of the tongue touches the back of the upper teeth; e. g. t, $t^h$, d, $d^h$.

(iii) Alveolar: When in articulation, the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge behind the upper front teeth; n, l, s, j.

(iv) Retroflex: When in articulation, the tip of the tongue is curled back slightly and placed near or against the hard palate at the top of the mouth; e. g. T, $T^h$, D, $D^h$, N.

(v) Palate: When in articulation, the front part of the tongue, but not the tip which is kept down, presses against the hard palate at the top of the mouth; e. g. y.

(vi) Velar: When in articulation, the back of the tongue touches the soft palate at the back of the mouth; e. g. k, $k^h$, g, $g^h$, ŋ.

(vii) Glottal: When vocal cords are brought together to obstruct the passage of the air; e. g. h.

**(c) On the basis of manner of production:**

(i) Voiced: If the vocal cords vibrate during production; e. g. g, $g^h$, ŋ, j, $j^h$.

(ii) Voiceless: If the vocal cords do not vibrate during production; e. g. k, $k^h$, c, $c^h$.

(iii) Aspirated: If there is an audible burst of air produced at the time of release; e. g. $k^h$, $g^h$, $c^h$, $j^h$.

(iv) Unasprirated: If there is no audible burst of air produced at time of release; e. g. k, g, c, j.

The table below lists the Bhojpuri consonants according to the classifications shown above. But the sounds below include ɾ, $ɾ^h$ and N as the allophones of D and $D^h$ and n because of their frequent use still exists in Bhojpuri. All the other sounds below are phonemes on their own:

| Place → / Manner ↓ | | Bilabial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | Vl. Unasp. | p | t | | T | | k | |
| | Vl. Asp | $p^h$ | $t^h$ | | $T^h$ | | $k^h$ | |
| | Vd. Unasp. | b | d | | D | | ɡ | |
| | Vd. Asp. | $b^h$ | $d^h$ | | $D^h$ | | $ɡ^h$ | |
| Fricative | Vl. Unasp. | | | s | | | | h |
| Affricate | Vl. Unasp. | | | c | | | | |
| | Vl. Asp | | | $c^h$ | | | | |
| | Vd. Unasp. | | | j | | | | |
| | Vd. Asp. | | | $j^h$ | | | | |
| Nasal | Vd. Unasp. | m | | n | N | | ŋ | |
| Lateral | Vd. Unasp. | | | l | | | | |
| Flap | Vd. Unasp. | | | | ʀ | | | |
| | Vd. Asp. | | | | $ʀ^h$ | | | |
| Trill | Vd. Unasp. | | | r | | | | |
| Glide | Vd. Unasp. | w | | | | y | | |

**2. Vowels**

Vowel sounds contrast with consonants in the way that they do not involve stoppage, friction or notable turbulence of the air stream as it passes through the vocal tract.

The Bhojpuri vowels can be classified as hereunder:

(a) **On the basis of the height of the tongue:** While articulating a vowel sound, the tongue may come nearest or go farthest or may be anywhere between the two positions. In this manner there are four kinds of vowels in Bhojpuri:

(i) Close or High: When the tongue is the nearest to the palate; e. g. i & u.

(ii) Half-close: When the tongue is a little bit lower than close; e. g. e & o.

(iii) Half-open: When the tongue is lower than half-close but not completely in open position; e. g. ə.

(iv) Open: When the tongue is at the lowest point from the palate; e. g. ɑ̄.

**(b) On the basis of advancement of the tongue:**

(i) Front: When the articulation is made by the front of the tongue; e. g. i & e.

(ii) Central: When the articulation is made by the mid part of the tongue; e. g. ə̄.

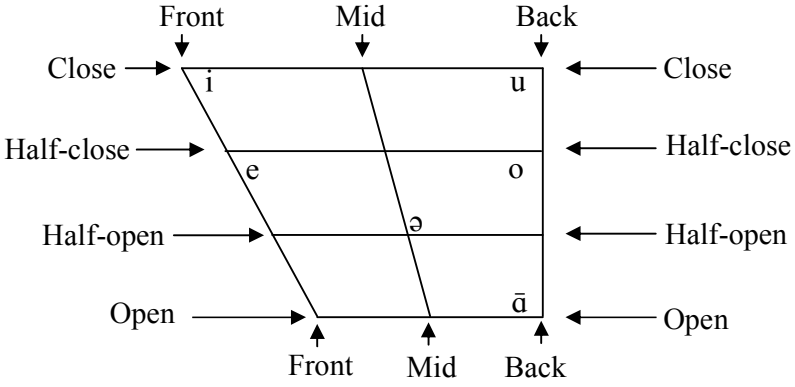
(iii) Back: When the articulation is made by the back of the tongue; e. g. u, o & ɑ.

The vowels in Bhojpuri can be presented in a vowel quadrilateral as hereunder.

In the quadrilateral only the pure vowels of Bhojpuri are presented.

Like the other languages, in Bhojpuri too, sometimes two vowels come together but so close that it is difficult to separate them. In such a case the combination of the pair is known as dipthongs.

əi & əu are the Bhojpuri dipthongs.




## 3.3 Writing system

The earlier records indicate that Bhojpuri was using its own script, Kaithi, previously. The very name has come from a traditional clerk caste, Kayastha, who were using this script. In those days all official records were maintained in the same script but now it's almost extinct. Now it is written in Devanagari script. Besides, the other new Indo-Aryan Languages such as Nepali, Hindi, Maithili and Awadhi even including some Tibeto-Burman languages like Newari are also being written in Devanagari script these days.

The Devanagari script used in Bhojpuri mainly transcribes the spoken form of the language into the written one. It is obviously because of the fact that there exists a close correspondence between the phonemes and their written symbols in the language unlike

in Modern English, where pronunciation and its related spelling are mostly arbitrary. As pointed by Shukla (1981:62), all the alphabets in this script are not, however, distinctive and phonemic.

The Bhojpuri language being written in Devanagari script has the alphabets almost correspondent to the phonemes. The Bhojpuri alphabets are as follows:

1. **Vowels**

   अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ

2. **Consonants**

   प फ ब भ म

   त थ द ध न

   ट ठ ड ढ ण

   च छ ज झ ञ

   क ख ग घ ङ

   य र ल व श ष स ह

   ण, ञ, श, ष have been dropped currently to be correspondent to pronunciation.

3. **Non-alphabetic vowel symbols (mātrā)**: The vowels following consonants in writing get changed into mātrā. For example no consonant alphabets in Bhojpuri are complete unless followed by a mātrā of vowel अ (*ə*).

   e. g. क read as *kə* is a combinantion of क् + अ and therefore the sign known as hələnt ( ् ) is used after a complete consonant to drop vowel अ from there. Besides अ, the other mātrā symbols for vowels in Bhojpuri are as here under:

   आ = ा for ā, इ = ि for ɪ, ई = ी for ī, उ = ु for ʊ, ऊ = ू for u, ए = े for e, ओ = ो for o and औ = ौ for əu.

   But there is no semantic difference due to vowel length in Bhojpuri only i is used for either इ or ई and only u is used for उ or ऊ these days.

4. **sirbindu or məste ( ं ) and cəndrəbindu ( ँ )**: sirbindu or məste symbolizes the nasal consonant whereas cəndrəbindu symbolizes the nasalized vowels in Bhojpuri.

**5. Punctuation symbols**

When Bhojpuri is written, it also uses all punctuation symbols as they are used in other Indo-European languages. They are comma (,), semi-colon (;), colon (:), full stop (।), question mark (?), sign of exclamation (!), single inverted commas (' '), double inverted commas (" ") and so on.

## 3.4 Nouns

There are two forms of nouns in Bhojpuri: Root and Derived.

| Root Nouns | Derived Nouns |
|---|---|
| ləʀikā<br>'boy/child' | ləʀikāĩ<br>'childhood' |
| mərəd<br>'man' | mərdāni<br>'male dress' |
| $b^hik^h$<br>'alms' | $b^hik^h$āri<br>'beggar' |
| rəutəhəT<br>'a district's name' | rəutəhəTiā<br>'inhabitant of Rautahat' |
| $b^h$ojpur<br>'name of a place' | $b^h$ojpuri, $b^h$ojpuriā<br>language and people related to Bhojpur |

Nouns are further classified as animate and non-animate or living and non-living.

| Animate Nouns | Inanimate Nouns |
|---|---|
| ādmi 'man' | pāni 'water' |
| gāı 'cow' | $dud^h$ 'milk' |
| $b^h$əĩs 'buffalo' | mās 'meat' |
| ləikā 'boy' | tel 'oil' |
| ləiki 'girl' | māTi 'soil' |

Likewise, the animate nouns are further classified in masculine and feminine on the basis of gender as well as in singular and plural on the basis of number.

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Masculine** | **Feminine** | **Masculine** | **Feminine** |
| bāb$^{h}$ən 'Brahmin' | bāb$^{h}$ni | bāb$^{h}$nən, bāb$^{h}$ən səb | bāb$^{h}$niən, bāb$^{h}$ni səb |
| cəmār 'cobbler' | cəməin | cəmārən, cəmār səb | cəməiniən, cəməin səb |
| sonār 'goldsmith' | sonārin | sonārən, sonār səb | sonāriniən, sonārin səb |
| lohār 'blacksmith' | lohəin | lohārən, lohər səb | lohəiniən, lohəin səb |
| b$^{h}$āl 'bear' | b$^{h}$ālin | b$^{h}$ālən, b$^{h}$āl səb | b$^{h}$āliniən, b$^{h}$ālin səb |
| siār 'jackle' | siārin | siārən, siār səb | siāriniən, siārin səb |
| bāg$^{h}$ 'tiger' | bāg$^{h}$in | bāg$^{h}$ən, bāg$^{h}$ səb | bāg$^{h}$iniən, bāg$^{h}$in səb |
| māmā 'mat. uncle' | māmi | māmā log | māmi log |
| nānā 'mat. grandpa' | nāni | nānā log | nāni log |

The table above shows that animate Bhojpuri noun roots are in masculine gender and singular number.

Suffix *-in* is included in the singular feminine Bhojpuri nouns and that the suffix may affect the ending phoneme dropping it out at some places while changing in feminine.

e. g. lohār-lohəin (r has been dropped out.)

While changing masculine as well as feminine nouns from singular to plural, suffix *-ən* is used. Besides, plural denoting words like *log* for honorific and *səb* for non-honorific humane nouns are used whereas *səb* is also used for all non-humane nouns to make plural.

Apart from these there are some other animate nouns in Bhojpuri that masculine and feminine paradigms have separate words to be used.

| **Masculine** | **Feminine** |
|---|---|
| mərəd 'man' | mehrāru 'woman' |
| bāp 'father' | mātāri 'mother' |
| bābu 'pa' | māi 'ma' |
| bābā 'grandpa' | dāi, iyā 'granny' |
| b$^{h}$āi 'brother' | bəhin 'sister' |
| sãʀ$^{h}$ 'bull' | gāi 'cow' |

Likewise the non-animate nouns have also the paradigms for singular and plural numbers as hereunder:

| **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|
| kitāb 'book' | kitābən, kitāb səb |
| kerā 'banana' | kerwən, kerā səb |
| ām 'mango' | əmwən, ām səb |
| pʰul 'flower' | pʰulən, pʰul səb |
| kʰet 'field' | kʰetən, kʰet səb |

It shows that the rules for singular and plural non-animate nouns are almost the same as the for animate do have in Bhojpuri. They only differ in the sense, there is no honorificity for inanimate Bhojpuri nouns.

When the nouns are used in sentences, they are also classified as subject and object of the verb. In this classification, the subject is always thought to be in its root form and that is why it is always unmarked while the object may be either marked or unmarked.

| **Subject Nouns** | **Object Nouns** |
|---|---|
| rām 'Ram' | rām, rām ke |
| bʰāt 'boiled rice' | bʰāt, bʰāt ke |
| gʰər 'house' | gʰər, gʰər ke |
| pāni 'water' | pāni, pāni ke |
| gāi 'cow' | gāi ke |

For example we can take the following sentences

a. *rām* ām kʰəiləkʰ. 'Ram ate a mango.'
b. *mohən* rām ke piTləkʰ. 'Mohan beat Ram.'
c. *sɑ̃ʀʰ* gāi ke cəhɛ̃Tləkʰ. 'The bull chased the cow.'
d. *gāi* sɑ̃ʀʰ ke piTʰiəiləkʰ. 'The cow followed the bull.'
e. *ādmi səb* kʰet jotelā. 'The men plough the field.'
f. *rām* ādmi səb ke kʰiāwelā. 'Ram feeds the men.'
g. *ləikən* kʰel kʰelelən. 'Children play the game.'
h. *ləikā səb* kʰelelā. 'Children play.'
i. *həm* ləikən ke pəʀʰāweni. 'I teach the children.'

j. *həm* səŋhətiā ke bʰāt kʰiāem 'I will feed rice to my friend.'

k. *bābuji* āj kʰir kʰāem. 'My father will eat rice pudding.'

l. *u āpən* sār ke bolāi. 'He will call his brother-in-law.'

m. *māi* sāʀi kineli. 'Mother buys a sari.'

n. *bʰəuji* kʰəTāi kʰāli. 'My sister-in-law eats sour.'

o. bəhut *mərəd log* əpnā mehrāru ke piTelən. 'Several men beat their wives.'

(Slanted words are the subject and those underlined are the object in the above examples.)

### 3.5 Pronouns

Pronouns are classified as subject and object at first in Bhojpuri.

#### 1. Subject Pronouns

##### (a) Personal Prononus

Personal Pronouns in subject form have two numbers, singular & plural, as well as have three persons. Among three persons of the Personal Pronouns are; speaker as First Person, listener as Second Person and the one who is talked about is Third Person.

Paradigm of Personal Pronouns in Subject form:

| **Person** | | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **First Person** | | həm | həmni/həmnikā |
| **Second Person** | Formal/honorific | rəuā/əpne | rəuā log/səbʰən, əpne log/səbʰən |
| | Informal | tu | tohəni/tohənikā |
| | Intimate/non-honorific | tẽ | tẽ səb |
| **Third Person** | Formal/honorific | hun/uhākā | u log/uhã log/səbʰən |
| | Informal/non-honorific | u | okəni/okənikā |

##### (b) Interrogative Pronouns

*ke, kəwn, kā* and *kətʰi* are Interrogagive Pronouns in Bhojpuri. These Interrogative Bhojpuri Pronouns come in slot of the subject in sentences.

e. g.: *ke* ā rəhəl bāʀən ? 'Who is coming?' (Who-honorific)

*kəwn* ā rəhəl bā ? 'Who is coming?' (Who-nonhonorific)

*kā* uʀət bā ?  'What is flying?'

*kəth**i*  cələt bā?  'What is moving?'

**2. Object Pronouns**

Object Pronouns have two forms: Personal Object Pronouns and Interrogative Object Pronouns.

**(a) Personal Prononus**

Personal Pronouns in object form also have number and person systerm.

A comparative table for Personal Pronouns in Subject and Object forms:

**In Singular Number:**

| **Person** | | **Subject** | **Object** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **First Person** | | həm | həmẽ/həmra ke |
| **Second Person** | Formal/honorific | rəuā/əpne | rəuā ke/əpne ke |
| | Informal | tu | tohe/tohərā ke |
| | Intimate/non-honorific | tẽ | tohe/tohərā ke |
| **Third Person** | Formal/honorific | hun/uhākā | hunkā ke/unkā ke |
| | Informal/non-honorific | u | oke |

e. g. (Subect)

*həm* git gāweni.  'I sing a song.'

*guruji* həmẽ pəʀ$^{h}$āweni.  'The teacher teaches me.'

*tu* ām k$^{h}$ālə.  'You eat a mango.

*u* git gāwelā.  'He sings a song.'

*uhãkā* həmrā ke kitāb pəʀ$^{h}$āweni.  'He teaches me a book.'

(Object)

guruji *həmẽ* pəʀ$^{h}$āweni.  'The teacher teaches me.'

uhãkā *həmrā ke* kitāb pəʀ$^{h}$āweni.  'He teaches me a book.'

**In Plural Number:**

| **Person** | | **Subject** | **Object** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **First Person** | | həmni/həmnikā | həmni ke, həmni səb ke |
| **Second Person** | Formal/honorific | rəuā log/səb$^{h}$ən, əpne log/səb$^{h}$ən | rəuā log/səb$^{h}$ən ke, əpne log/səb$^{h}$ən ke |
| | Informal | tohəni/tohənikā | tohəni ke /tohəni səb ke |
| | Intimate/non-honorific | tẽ səb | tẽ səb ke |
| **Third Person** | Formal/honorific | u log/uhā̃ log/səb$^{h}$ən | u log ke, uhā̃ log /səb$^{h}$ən ke |
| | Informal/non-honorific | okəni/okənikā | okəni ke, okəni səb ke |

e. g. (Subect)

*həmni* git gāweni. 'We sing a song.'

*əpne log* həmẽ pəʀ$^{h}$āweni. 'You teach me.'

*tohəni* ām k$^{h}$ālə. 'You eat a mango.

*okənikā* git gāwelā. 'They sing a song.'

*uhā̃ səb$^{h}$ən* həmni ke kitāb pəʀ$^{h}$āweni. 'They teach us a book.'

(Object)

guruji *həmni ke* pəʀ$^{h}$āweni. 'The teacher teaches us.'

uhākā *tonəni ke* kitāb pəʀ$^{h}$āweni. 'He teaches you a book.'

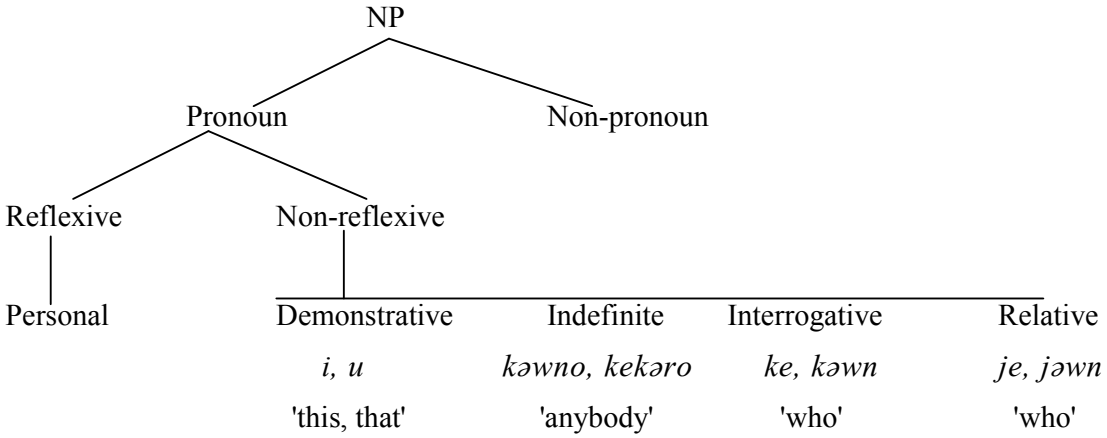
**(b) Interrogative Pronouns**

Interrogative Pronouns in Object form adds suffix *-ke* after their respective Subject form:

| Subject | | Object |
|---|---|---|
| ke | 'who' (honorific) | ke ke, kinkā ke |
| kəwn | 'who' (non-honorific) | kekərā ke, kəwnā ke |
| kā | 'what/which' | kā |
| kət$^{h}$i | 'what/which' | kət$^{h}$i ke |

**(c) Reflexive and Non-reflexive Pronouns**

Reflexive and Non-reflexive Pronouns are shown in a tree diagram below:




**3.6 Determiners**

There may be one or more Determiners before a subject pronoun in Bhojpuri. There are four types of Determiners in Bhojpuri:

a. **Adjectival Determiner:** Adjectival Determiners tell some thing about the subject. These are available in common, feminine and masculine genders. Common gender adjectival determiners are indefinite whereas Masculine and feminine gender adjectival determiners are definite.

b. **Demonstrative Determiner:** For nearness there is *i* and that for distant situation *u*, the demonstrative determiners in Bhojpuri.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| e. g. | *i* ādmi | 'this man' |
| | *i* ādmi səb | 'these men' |
| | *u* ɑdmi | 'that man' |
| | *u* ādmi səb | 'those men' |

c. **Quantifying Determiner:** Quantifying determiners in Bhojpuri are numeral and non numeral.

*ek* (one), *du* (two), *tin* (three) and so on denote numbers answering the question 'how many' whereas *pəhilā* (first), *dusrā* (second), *tisrā* (third) denote cardinal numbers answering the question 'which'.

Likewise, *bəhut* (much), *tənikā* (little), *səb* (all), *log* (crowd), *kəm* (less), *besi* (more) are non-numeral determiners in Bhojpuri answering 'how much'

d. **Genitive Determiner**: A genitive determiner consists of a noun, nominal or personal pronoun followed by the case-marking genitive postposition /*ke*/. But a genitive determiner also comes in forms of -*ār* or -*ər* following personal pronouns:

| Personal Pronouns | | Genitive | |
|---|---|---|---|
| həm | I | həm*ār*/həm*ər* | 'my/mine' |
| rəuā | 'You' (Hon) | rāur | 'Your/yours' |
| əpne | 'You' (Hon) | əpne *ke* | 'Your/yours' |
| tu | 'You' (NH) | toh*ār*/toh*ər* | 'Your/yours' |
| u | S/he | okər | His/her/hers |

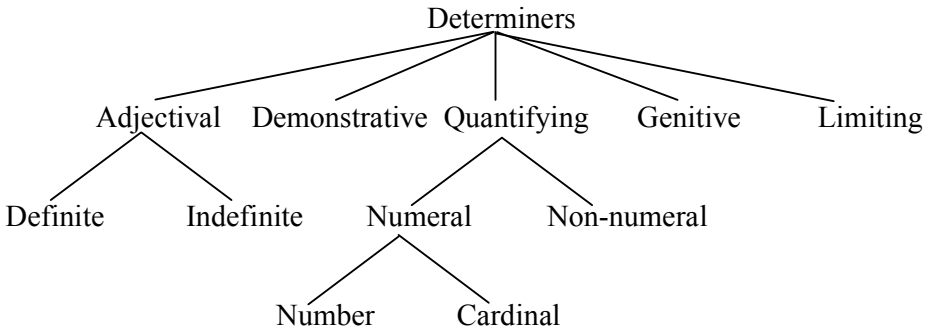
e. **Limiting Determiner**:

In Bhojpuri, *kəwno* (any) and *mātər*/*kewəl* (only) are limiting determiners. It is also marked by suffix -*e*:

*kəwno* ləikā/ləiki

ləik*e*, ləikə*we*, ləiki*e*

Bhojpuri determiners are presented in a tree-diagram as given below:




**3.7 Postposition**

When Bhojpuri nouns or pronouns are there in nonsubject positions, they are often followed by particles, called postpositions. There are Object marking, Genitive marking and Adverbial postpositions in Bhojpuri.

1. **Object markers**

həm kitāb pəʀʰem.

I book read-1SF

'I will read a book.'

həm rām ke dekʰem.

I Ram-O see-1SF

'I will see Ram.'

həm səpnā dekʰem.

I dream see-1SF

'I will have a dream.'

həm ləiki ke mohem.

I girl-O love-1SF

'I will love the girl.'

həm hātʰi kinem.

I elephant-O buy-1SF

'I will buy an elephant.'

həm jānā ke bolāem.

I labourer-O call-1SF

'I will call the labourer.'

2. **Genitive markers**

həm rām ke kitāb pəʀʰni.

I Ram-G book read-1SP

'I read Ram's book.'

u rāju ke bāp həuən.

he Raju-G father be-3SHonPr

'He is Raju's father.'

u həmār bʰāi hə.

he my younger brother be-3SPr

'He is my younger brother.'

həm okər bʰəiā bāni.

I his elder brother be-1SPr

'I am his elder brother.'

**3. Adverbial Postpositions**

The adverbial postpositions constitute the postpositional or adverbial phrases. They are presented hereunder:

| | |
|---|---|
| ā̃ge | 'in front of' |
| pā̃c$^{h}$e | 'at the back of' |
| k$^{h}$ā̃tir | 'for' |
| ləge | 'near' |
| mẽ | 'in' |
| pəhile | 'before' |
| bā̃d | 'after' |
| pər | 'on' |
| səŋe | 'with' |
| se | 'from' (source) |
| se | 'with' (instrument) |
| tək | 'up to' |
| tər | 'under' |

## 3.8 Verb

**1. Introduction**

The last primary constituent in a Bhojpuri clause is a verb. A Bhojpuri verb is marked by a verb affix and also by affixes denoting number, gender and person. The grammatical categories of number, gender and person are actually constituents of the subject form, not of the verb. They are secondarily introduced through an agreement transformation of the adjunction type.

**2. Classification**

**(a) On the basis of structure:**

There are two paradigms of the Bhojpuri verbs: Basic and Derived Causative.

Both the paradigms have three modes: Indicative, Optative and Imperative.

The indicative mode has again four subsets: Simpe, Progressive, Imperfective and Perfective. These four subsets are further available in Past, Present and Future tenses.

Likewise, the verbs are available in three Adjectival Particle paradigms: Present, Past and Perfective.

All these paradigms with their subsets are presented as in the table below:

| | | Basic Paradigm | | | | | | Derived Causative Paradigm | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Past | | Present | | Future | | Past | | Present | | Future | |
| Indicative | Simple | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P |
| | | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P |
| | | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P |
| | Progressive | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P |
| | | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P |
| | | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P |
| | Imperfective | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P |
| | | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P |
| | | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P |
| | Perfective | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P | 1S | 1P |
| | | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P | 2S | 2P |
| | | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P | 3S | 3P |
| Optative | | | | 1S | 1P | | | | | 1S | 1P | | |
| | | | | 2S | 2P | | | | | 2S | 2P | | |
| | | | | 3S | 3P | | | | | 3S | 3P | | |
| Imperative | Informal | | | 2S | 2P | | | | | 2S | 2P | | |
| | Formal | | | 2S | 2P | | | | | 2S | 2P | | |
| Adjectival Participles | Present | | | m | f | | | | | m | f | | |
| | Past | | | m | f | | | | | m | f | | |
| | Perfective | | | m | f | | | | | m | f | | |

1S → First Person Singular
1P → First Person Plural
2S → Second Person Singular
2P → Second Person Plural
3S → Third Person Singular
3P → Third Person Plural
m → Masculine
f → Feminine

**(i) Basic Verb**

Simple Present paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰeni | dekʰelə/dekʰeni | dekʰeni |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰeni | dekʰelə/dekʰeni | dekʰeni |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰeni | dekʰelu/dekʰeni | dekʰeli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰeni | dekʰelu/dekʰeni | dekʰelin |

Present Progressive paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰ rəhəl bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bāʀə/bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bā/bāni |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰ rəhəl bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bāʀə/bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bā/bāni |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰ rəhəl bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bāʀu/bāni | dekʰ rəhəl biā/bāʀi |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰ rəhəl bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bāʀu/bāni | dekʰ rəhəl bā/biā/bāʀi |

Present Imperfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰət*āni/bāni* | dekʰət*āʀə/bāʀə/bāni* | dekʰət*ā/bā/bāni* |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰət*āni/bāni* | dekʰət*āʀə/bāʀə/bāni* | dekʰət*ā/bāʀən/ʀən/bāni* |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰət*āni/bāni* | dekʰət*āʀu/bāʀu/bāni* | dekʰət*iā/biā/bāʀi* |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰət*āni/bāni* | dekʰət*āʀu/bāʀu/bāni* | dekʰət*iā/biā/bāʀi* |

Present Perfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰle bāni | dekʰle bāʀə/bāni | dekʰle bā/bāni |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰle bāni | dekʰle bāʀə/bāni | dekʰle bāʀən/bāni |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰle bāni | dekʰle bāʀu/bāni | dekʰle bā/biā/bāni |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰle bāni | dekʰle bāʀu/bāni | dekʰle bā/biā/bāni |

Simple Past paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰni | dekʰlə/dekʰni | dekʰni |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰni | dekʰlə/dekʰni | dekʰni |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰni | dekʰlu/dekʰni | dekʰli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰni | dekʰlu/dekʰni | dekʰlin |

Past Imperfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰət rəhni | dekʰət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰət rəhe/rəhlən |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰət rəhni | dekʰət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰət rəhlən |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰət rəhni | dekʰət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰət rəhli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰət rəhni | dekʰət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰət rəhlin |

Past Perfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰle rəhni | dekʰle rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰle rəhe/rəhlən |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰle rəhni | dekʰle rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰle rəhlən |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰle rəhni | dekʰle rəhlu/rəhni | dekʰle rəhli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰle rəhni | dekʰle rəhlu/rəhni | dekʰle rəhlin |

Simple Future paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰ*em/əm* | dekʰbə/dekʰem | dekʰi/dekʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰ*em/əm* | dekʰbə/dekʰem | dekʰi/dekʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰ*em/əm* | dekʰbu/dekʰem | dekʰi/dekʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰ*em/əm* | dekʰbu/dekʰem | dekʰi/dekʰem |

Future Progressive paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰ rəhəl hoi/hokʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰ rəhəl hoihen/hokʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰ rəhəl hoi/hokʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰ rəhəl hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰ rəhəl hoi/hokʰem |

Future Imperfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰət hoi/hokʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰət hoihen/hokʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰət hoi/hokʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰət hoihen/hokʰem |

Present Perfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰle hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰle hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰle hoi/hokʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰle hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰle hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰle hoihen/hokʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰle hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰle hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰle hoi/hokʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰle hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰle hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰle hoihen/hokʰem |

Optative paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| First Person | dekʰĩ | dekʰĩ |
| Second Person | dekʰ/dekʰə/dekʰĩ | dekʰ/dekʰə/dekʰĩ |
| Third Person | dekʰo/dekʰəs | dekʰo/dekʰəs |

Imperative paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰ* 'see'

dekʰ, dekʰə, dekʰĩ & dekʰəl jɑ̄w

(ii) **Derived Causative Verb**

Simple Present paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰa* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelə/dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelā |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelə/dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelən |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelu/dekʰāweni | dekʰāweli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelu/dekʰāweni | dekʰāwelin |

Present Progressive paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰa* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰā rəhəl bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bāʀə/bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bā/bāni |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰā rəhəl bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bāʀə/bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bā/bāni |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰā rəhəl bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bāʀu/bāni | dekʰā rəhəl biā/bāʀi |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰā rəhəl bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bāʀu/bāni | dekʰā rəhəl bā/biā/bāʀi |

Present Imperfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰa* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰāwət*āni/bāni* | dekʰāwət*āʀə/bāʀə/bāni* | dekʰāwət*ā/bā/bāni* |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰāwət*āni/bāni* | dekʰāwət*āʀə/bāʀə/bāni* | dekʰāwət*ā/bāʀən/ʀən/bāni* |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰāwət*āni/bāni* | dekʰāwət*āʀu/bāʀu/bāni* | dekʰāwət*iā/biā/bāʀi* |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰāwət*āni/bāni* | dekʰāwət*āʀu/bāʀu/bāni* | dekʰāwət*iā/biā/bāʀi* |

Present Perfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰa* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰəwle bāni | dekʰəwle bāʀə/bāni | dekʰəwle bā/bāni |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰəwle bāni | dekʰəwle bāʀə/bāni | dekʰəwle bāʀən/bāni |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰəwle bāni | dekʰəwle bāʀu/bāni | dekʰəwle bā/biā/bāni |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰəwle bāni | dekʰəwle bāʀu/bāni | dekʰəwle bā/biā/bāni |

Simple Past paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰəini | dekʰəilə/dekʰni | dekʰəini |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰəini | dekʰəilə/dekʰni | dekʰəini |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰəini | dekʰəilu/dekʰni | dekʰəili |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰəini | dekʰəilu/dekʰni | dekʰəilin |

Past Imperfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰāwət rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhe/rəhlən |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰāwət rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhlən |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰāwət rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰāwət rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰāwət rəhlin |

Past Perfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰəile rəhni | dekʰəile rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰəile rəhe/rəhlən |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰəile rəhni | dekʰəile rəhlə/rəhni | dekʰəile rəhlən |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰəile rəhni | dekʰəile rəhlu/rəhni | dekʰəile rəhli |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰəile rəhni | dekʰəile rəhlu/rəhni | dekʰəile rəhlin |

Simple Future paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰāem | dekʰəibə/dekʰāem | dekʰāi/dekʰāem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰāem | dekʰəibə/dekʰāem | dekʰāi/dekʰāem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰāem | dekʰəibu/dekʰāem | dekʰāi/dekʰāem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰāem | dekʰəibu/dekʰāem | dekʰāi/dekʰāem |

Future Progressive paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰā rəhəl hoi/hokʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰā rəhəl hoihen/hokʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰā rəhəl hoi/hokʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰā rəhəl hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰā rəhəl hoi/hokʰem |

Future Imperfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰāwət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰāwət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰāwət hoi/hokʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰāwət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰāwət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰāwət hoihen/hokʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰāwət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰāwət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰāwət hoi/hokʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰāwət hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰāwət hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰāwət hoihen/hokʰem |

Present Perfect paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Masculine Singular | dekʰəile hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰəile hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰəile hoi/hokʰem |
| Masculine Plural | dekʰəile hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰəile hokʰbə/hokʰem | dekʰəile hoihen/hokʰem |
| Feminine Singular | dekʰəile hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰəile hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰəile hoi/hokʰem |
| Feminine Plural | dekʰəile hokʰe*b/m* | dekʰəile hokʰbu/hokʰem | dekʰəile hoihen/hokʰem |

Optative paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| First Person | dekʰāĩ | dekʰāĩ |
| Second Person | dekʰā/dekʰāwə/dekʰāĩ | dekʰā/dekʰāwə/dekʰāĩ |
| Third Person | dekʰāo/dekʰāwəs | dekʰāo/dekʰāwəs |

Imperative paradigm of the Bhojpuri verb *dekʰā* 'show'

dekʰā, dekʰāwə, dekʰāĩ & dekʰāwəl jāw

**(b) On the basis of transitivity:**

The verbs in Bhojpuri are Intransitive, Transitive and Bi-transitive:

**(i) Intransitive**

Where there is no possibility of the questions like kā, kət$^{h}$i or kəwnā (what or which) after verbs, the verbs are Intransitive. In other words such verbs do not take object:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hə̃s | 'laugh' | ro | 'weep' | bəiT$^{h}$ | 'sit' | sut | 'sleep' |
| jāg | 'wake' | uT$^{h}$ | 'rise' | jā | 'go' | ā | 'come' |

(ii) **Transitive**

Where there is possibility of the questions like kā, kət$^{h}$i or kəwnā (what or which) after verbs, the verbs are Transitive. In other words such verbs take object:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| k$^{h}$ā | 'eat' | pi | 'drink' | gā | 'sing' | lik$^{h}$ | 'write' |
| leā | 'bring' | pəʀ$^{h}$ | 'read' | sun | 'hear' | bol | 'speak' |

(iii) **Bi-transitive**

When the verb takes two objects:

e. g. rām ciTT$^{h}$i lik$^{h}$lək
Ram letter write-3SPt
'Ram wrote a letter.'

rām bəhin ke ciTT$^{h}$i lik$^{h}$lək
Ram sister-3SO letter write-3SPt
'Ram wrote a letter to his sister.'

Besides these, when the intransitive verbs are changed into derived causative ones, they become transitive.

Let's have a look on the table below:

| **Basic Intransitive** | **Derived Causative Transitive** |
|---|---|
| ro: rām roələk<br>'Ram wept.' | roā: rām syām ke roā delək<br>'Ram made Shyam weep. |
| bəiT$^{h}$: ləikā bəiT$^{h}$əl bā<br>'The boy is sitting.' | bəiT$^{h}$ā: rām ləikā ke bəiT$^{h}$əile bā<br>'Ram has made the boy sit.' |

### 3.9 Adverb

There are two types of Adverbs in Bhojpuri: Simple and Complex.

**1. Simple Adverb**

In Bhojpuri, there is a class overlap between postpositions and adverbs, whereby some postpositions may occur as simple adverbs as given below:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| u *nicā* bā | u *upər* bā | u *bicce* bā |
| he down is | he up is | he middle is |
| 'He is down there.' | 'He is up there.' | 'He is in the middle.' |

There is a list in brief of the simple Bhojpuri adverbs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| āge | 'in front of' | kəb | 'when?' |
| āju | 'today' | kəhā̃ | 'where?' |
| $b^h$itər | 'inside' | kālhu | 'yesterday' |
| bāhər | 'outside' | ləge | 'near' |
| bicce | 'in the middle of' | nā | 'no' |
| bihān | 'tomorrow' | ləgice | 'near' |
| cuppe | 'silent' | sāt$^h$e | 'with' |
| $d^h$ire | 'slowly' | sāyd | 'perhaps |
| ihā̃ | 'here' | təb | 'then' |
| uhā̃ | 'there' | təre | 'under' |
| jəb | 'when' | upər | 'up' |
| jəhā̃ | 'where' | nicā | 'down' |

**2. Complex Adverb**

When a pronominal stem is fused with an adverbial suffix of manner /-se/, the result is a complex adverb.

They are:

**(a) Deictic Adverbs:**

| | |
|---|---|
| əise | 'this way' |
| oise | 'that way' |

**(b) Relative Adverbs:**

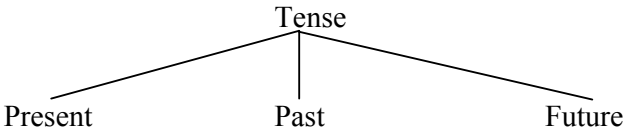
jəise 'like'

**(c) Interrogative Adverbs:**

kəise 'which way?'

### 3.10 Tense and Aspects

There are three tenses and different aspects in Bhojpuri:




| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kʰāni 'eat' | kʰəini 'ate' | kʰāem 'will eat' |
| likʰeni 'write' | likʰni 'wrote' | likʰem 'will write' |
| həm bʰāt kʰāni | həm bʰāt kʰəini | həm bʰāt kʰāem |
| I rice eat | I rice ate | I rice will eat |
| 'I eat rice.' | 'I ate rice.' | 'I will eat rice.' |

Likewise, the three tenses (present, past and future) have multiple aspects as presented in the following examples for a Bhojpuri verb *kʰā* 'eat':

| | |
|---|---|
| kʰo | Command |
| kʰāil jāo | Request |
| kʰāe dĩ/də/del jāo | Permission |
| kʰəiləkʰ | Past, Known/Unknown |
| kʰāelā | Purpose |
| kʰāt bā/kʰātā | Present, Imperfect |
| kʰā rəhəl bā | Present, Progressive |
| kʰəibe ? | Future, Non-honorific, Question, Curiosity |
| kʰəibə ? | Future, Informal, Honorific, Question, Curiosity |
| kʰāem ? | Future, Formal, Honorific, Question, Curiosity |
| kʰāil jāi ? | Future, Formal, High-honorific, Question, Curiosity |
| kʰəile bā | Present, Perfective |
| kʰā lele ? | Past, Non-honorific, Question, Curiosity |
| kʰā lelə ? | Past, Informal, Honorific, Question, Curiosity |

| | |
|---|---|
| kʰā leni ? | Past, Formal, Honorific, Question, Curiosity |
| kʰā liāil ? | Past, Formal, High-honorific, Question, Curiosity |

### 3.11 Case

There are eight cases in Bhojpuri in use. They are presented here with corrsponding case-marking symbols:

**(a) Nominative (Ø)**

*həm* bʰāt kʰāni
I rice eat
'I eat rice.'

**(b) Accusative (Ø, ke)**

həm *kitāb* pəʀʰeni
I book read
'I read a book.'

həm *kuttā ke* piTeni
I dog beat
'I beat the dog.'

**(c) Instrumental (se)**

həm Taŋi se jərnā kāTeni.
I axe with firewood cut
'I cut the firewood with an axe.'

**(d) Purpose (lā, kʰātir)**

həm *pāni lā* kʰəʀā bāni
I water for standing am
'I am standing for water.'

həm *tohərā kʰātir* kʰəʀā bāni
I you for standing am
'I am standing for you.'

**(e) Source (se)**

gācʰi se pəttā girelā.

tree from leaf fall

The leaf falls from the tree.

**(f) Genitive (ke, ār, ər)**

*rām ke* gāı

Ram of cow

'The cow of Ram or Ram's cow'

*həmār* gʰər

'my home'

*tohər* inār

'your (Non-honorific) well'

*rāur* rumāl

'your (Honorific) hanky

**(g) Locative (me, pər)**

həm *gʰər me* rəheni

I house in live

'I live in a house.'

u *cʰəppər pər* cəʀʰelā

he roof on climb

'He climbs on the roof.'

**(h) Commitative (jəwre, səŋe)**

həm sitā səŋe bājār jāem.

I Sita with market go

'I will go to market with Sita.'

həm tohrā jəwre git gāem.

I your with song sing

'I will sing a song with you.'

### 3.12 Sentence

The base rules elaborated so far in Bhojpuri start from the rule:

NP (PP) (NP) (NP) (Adv) V

This rule generates all declarative type sentences in Bhojpuri.

Semantically, Bhojpuri has 5 types of sentences:

1. **Statement or Assertive Sentences**

   The statements in Bhjpuri are Affirmative or Negative:

   **(a) Affirmative**

   rɑm roTi $k^h$ālā
   Ram chapatti eat
   'Ram eats chapattis.'

   mohən hə̃selā
   Mohan laugh
   'Mohan laughs.'

   **(b) Negative**

   rɑm roTi nā $k^h$ālā
   Ram chapatti not eat
   'Ram does not eat chapattis.'

   mohən nā hə̃selā
   Mohan not laugh
   'Mohan does not laugh.'

2. **Command or Imperative Sentences**

   tu $g^h$ərejā
   you home go
   'Go home' (Informal, Honorific)

   tu $g^h$ərejo
   you home go
   'Go home' (Non-onorific)

tu gʰəre nā jā

you home not go

'Do not go home' (Non-honorific)

tu gʰəre nā jā

you home not go

'Do not go home' (Informal, Honorific)

rəuā gʰəre jāĩ

you home go

'Please go home' (Formal, Honorific)

əpne gʰəre jāil jāo

you home go

'Please go home' (Formal, High honorific)

gʰəre jāil jāo

home go

'Please go home' (Formal, High honorific)

**3. Question or Interrogative Sentences**

rām kā pəʀʰelā ?

Ram what read

'What does Ram read?'

u kəise rəhelā ?

he how live

'How does he live?'

**4. Optative Sentences**

u jugjug jio

he eras live

'May he live long.'

u mərio jāit tə Tʰik

he die go then good

'It'd better he died.'

**5. Exclamatory Sentences**

ketnā nimən $T^h$ɑ̃w !

how nice place

'How nice the place!'

ketnā sunnar lərki !

how beautiful girl

'How beautiful a girl!'

# CHAPTER FOUR

## Sociolinguistic Findings & Analysis

### 5.1 Background

Presentation and Analysis of Data is significant enough to provide real shape to a research work. Along with the introduction to the subject matter, Chapter One of this Survey has shed light on Research Methodology. On the basis of the methodology applied during this Survey, the data so collected are presented and analyzed in this chapter.

As mentioned above, besides oral discussion, interactions and interviews, collections of different varieties of 1500 basic Bhojpuri words and 200 sentences and filling up a sociolinguistic questionnaire including 65 questions in written form are the main bases of this Survey. The full script of these written works is presented in Appendices of this Survey Report.

Therefore, this chapter will familiarize the readers and scholars with the presentation of the response of Bhojpuri speakers on some of issues raised as per the objective of this Survey before them; a short and brief introductory presentation of similarity and diversity in use of Bhojpuri among Bhojpurias on geographical, social, communal and religious bases; and at last the data are analyzed.

### 5.2 Presentation of Data in Brief

#### 1. Questionnaire

Here's a brief presentation of the data retrieved through a questionnaire developed on topics of use of language, lingual attitude, bilingualism and multilingualism during the period of this Survey:

(a) Data on Use of Language

What language do you speak in local markets?

| | Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 30% | 50% | | 5% | 15% |
| Rautahat | 50% | 30% | | 5% | 15% |
| Bara | 80% | | | 5% | 15% |
| Parsa | 70% | | | 15% | 15% |
| Nawalparasi | 60% | | 20% | 10% | 10% |
| Rupandehi | 50% | | 30% | 10% | 10% |

What language do you speak while talking to your friend and relatives?

| | Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 60% | 20% | | | 20% |
| Rautahat | 70% | 15% | | | 15% |
| Bara | 80% | | | | 20% |
| Parsa | 70% | | | 15% | 15% |
| Nawalparasi | 60% | | 15% | 10% | 15% |
| Rupandehi | 60% | | 20% | 10% | 10% |

What language do you speak?

| Talking to | Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grand father/mother | 100% | | | | |
| Father | 100% | | | | |
| Mother | 100% | | | | |
| Brother | 100% | | | | |
| Sister | 100% | | | | |
| Sons & daughters | 100% | | | | |
| Grand sons/daughters | 100% | | | | |

What language do they speak while talking to one another?

| Talking | Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grand father to grand mother | 100% | | | | |
| Grad mother to grand father | 100% | | | | |
| Father to Mother | 100% | | | | |
| Mother to father | 100% | | | | |
| Father to children | 100% | | | | |
| Mother to children | 100% | | | | |
| Children to father | 100% | | | | |
| Children to mother | 100% | | | | |
| Children among each other | 100% | | | | |

What language do you speak in the following situations?

| For | Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cracking jokes | 90% | | | | 10% |
| Telling a story | 100% | | | | |
| Political dialogue | 70% | | | 10% | 20% |
| Singing a song | 80% | | | | 20% |
| Having an employment | 20% | | | 80% | |
| Religious teaching at home | 100% | | | | |
| Religious teaching at temple | 90% | | | | 10% |
| Convincing women | 100% | | | | |

(b) Data on Language Attitude

Should all speak in Bhojpuri in the Bhojpuri speaking area?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 100% | |
| Rautahat | 100% | |
| Bara | 100% | |
| Parsa | 100% | |
| Nawalparasi | 100% | |
| Rupandehi | 100% | |

Should all the children in your area learn Bhojpuri?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 55% | 45% |
| Rautahat | 60% | 40% |
| Bara | 65% | 35% |
| Parsa | 50% | 50% |
| Nawalparasi | 45% | 55% |
| Rupandehi | 55% | 45% |

Do you think there should be Bhojpuria teachers in schools of your locality to help explaining things to children in Bhojpuri?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 100% | |
| Rautahat | 100% | |
| Bara | 100% | |
| Parsa | 100% | |
| Nawalparasi | 100% | |
| Rupandehi | 100% | |

Should your language be taught in school?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 90% | 10% |
| Rautahat | 85% | 15% |
| Bara | 100% | 35% |
| Parsa | 75% | 25% |
| Nawalparasi | 70% | 30% |
| Rupandehi | 80% | 20% |

Should all learn Nepali also?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 100% | |
| Rautahat | 100% | |
| Bara | 100% | |
| Parsa | 100% | |
| Nawalparasi | 100% | |
| Rupandehi | 100% | |

Will you send your children to school if your language is taught there?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 90% | 10% |
| Rautahat | 85% | 15% |
| Bara | 100% | |
| Parsa | 90% | 10% |
| Nawalparasi | 80% | 20% |
| Rupandehi | 90% | 10% |

Will you buy the book published in your language?

| | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 100% | |
| Rautahat | 100% | |
| Bara | 100% | |
| Parsa | 100% | |
| Nawalparasi | 100% | |
| Rupandehi | 100% | |

What language should you know better?

| | Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 30% | 30% | | 40% | |
| Rautahat | 40% | 20% | | 40% | |
| Bara | 50% | | | 50% | |
| Parsa | 25% | | | 75% | |
| Nawalparasi | 35% | | 15% | 50% | |
| Rupandehi | 50% | | 15% | 35% | |

(c) Data on Bilingualism & Multilingualism

In this locality what language, except yours, do all understand and speak?

| | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 95% | 20% | 30% | 80% |
| Rautahat | 80% | 20% | 30% | 80% |
| Bara | 70% | 20% | 30% | 80% |
| Parsa | 60% | 30% | 50% | 80% |
| Nawalparasi | 40% | 90% | 50% | 80% |
| Rupandehi | 30% | 95% | 50% | 80% |

What language do you speak in local markets?

| | Maithili | Awadhi | Nepali | Hindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 95% | 40% | 30% | 80% |
| Rautahat | 80% | 40% | 30% | 80% |
| Bara | 70% | 50% | 30% | 80% |
| Parsa | 60% | 50% | 50% | 80% |
| Nawalparasi | 40% | 90% | 50% | 80% |
| Rupandehi | 30% | 95% | 50% | 80% |

When do you speak the language other than yours?

| | To let other language speakers understand you | To show personality |
|---|---|---|
| Sarlahi | 95% | 5% |
| Rautahat | 95% | 5% |
| Bara | 95% | 5% |
| Parsa | 95% | 5% |
| Nawalparasi | 95% | 5% |
| Rupandehi | 95% | 5% |

**2. Word-list**

There had been two types of word-lists developed to collect samples of the words from different genres: Swadesh 100 word-list and a word-list developed by the Central Department of Linguistics, TU, containing almost 5000 words. Altogether 1500 words so collected are analyzed here. The full samples of the words are given in Appendices of this research.

The words so collected include nouns, adjectives and verbs from genres of Geography & Geology, Time & Weather, Castes and Occupations of Human Beings, Relationship, Language & Thought, Belief & Thought, Wealth & Property, Human Organs, Diseases & Treatment, Building, Utensils, Weapons, Musical Instruments, Food Items, Villages & Towns, Dress, Cosmetic & Ornaments, Reading & Writing and Swadesh's Hundred Words.

Except the Sheikh dialect of Bhojpuri, the nouns are found almost same in all other dialects. Sheikh dialect includes some in-coming words from Urdu and Persian.

Regarding verbs, the infinitive form of verb ends in *–ke* in other dialects whereas Sheikh dialect has *–ko* at the slot.

e. g. infinitive for 'eat'

Sheikh dialect: $k^{h}$ɑ̄e*ko* other dialects: $k^{h}$ɑ̄e*ke*

It will be discussed in detail while analyzing the data.

**3. Sentence-list**

This research includes a list of 200 sentences how they are uttered in different areal, communal and religious boundaries.

It's observed western Bara and westward has the verb ending in Present Imperfect with a third person singular subject *tā* such as *kʰātā* for 'eat' whereas the eastward dialects have the verb ending in *tā* but infix *i* before it such as *kʰāitā*.

Sheikh dialect has *t* after *kʰā* with ending in *he* as a separate morpheme. e. g. *kʰāt he.*

Tharu dialect has *i* after *kʰā* ending in further suffix səi. e. g. *kʰāisəi*.

## 5.3 Analysis of Data

### 1. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

#### (a) Language Use

While going through the presentation of some facts of the questionnaire, it makes it clear that Bhojpurias have strong continuity of their language use. They use only Bhojpuri at home among all family members. They use Bhojpuri outside home in the locality to disseminate religious and political view-ponts. They use their language for telling story, cracking jokes, reciting folk rhymes and proverbs and so on.

This is the outcome of the long oral tradition and wide geographical location of Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias that they are still using their language, which is little introduced in formal education and other sectors of governance. In reality, they don't have healthy reinforcement or encouragement from the state machineries to preserve and promote their langage.

#### (b) Language Attitude

##### (i) Towards Bhojpuri

The facts and figures show that Bhojpurias are optimistic and so their attitude towards Bhojpuri is strongly positive. They say they will send their children to school if the vernacular is Bhojpuri at schools. They will buy books if published in Bhojpuri. The researcher learnt during the field visit that Bhojpurias are enthusiastic enough to encourage their children to learn Bhojpuri but there are little educational materials with poor availability.

**(ii) Towards Other Languages**

Bhojpuri speaking population is even positive towards other languages except their own. The facts and figures show they understand and speak Maithili in the eastern Bhojpuri region as well as Awadhi in the western one. There is proof in the sample of sentences that eastern Bhojpuri is influenced by Maithili and western Bhojpuri by Awadhi. Central Bhojpuri populace understand both Maithili and Awadhi but it hasn't been found their use.

Hindi is found understood and spoken throughout the Bhojpuri speaking zone. They use it as a second language in market and with non-hill strangers until it's confirmed the stranger is a Bhojpuria. They also use Hindi for singing and drama.

Regarding the national official language Nepali, the data show that the Bhojpuri speakers are fully positive and enthusiastic enough to learn and use it together with their mother tongue. They feel the need for Bhojpurias to learn Nepali as well.

**2. Word-list**

While analyzing the word-list collected in different sectors of Bhojpuri speaking zone, the facts are enough for classification of Bhojpuri in six dialects on geographical, communal and religious basis.

**(a) Swadesh's Hundred Words**

In accordance with the Swadesh's 100 words, the similarity between the six dialects is presented below:

| | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu-Dialect | Sheikh-Dialect | Rauthahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bara-Parsa | 100% | 100% | 75% | 100% | 100% |
| Bara-Rautahat | | 100% | 75% | 100% | 100% |
| Tharu-dialect | | | 75% | 100% | 100% |
| Sheikh-dialect | | | | 75% | 75% |
| Rautahat-Sarlahi | | | | | 100% |

The data presented above shows all the Bhojpuri dialects except Sheikh dialect have cent per cent lexical similarity, whereas Sheikh dialect is also 75 per cent lexically similar to the other five dialects on the basis of Swadesh's 100 words.

**(b) Whole Word-list**

Not only the Swadesh's 100 words, but the entire word-list collected under this Survey, the result of lexiacal similarity between the six dialects of Nepalese Bhojpuri is almost the same:

| | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu-Dialect | Sheikh-Dialect | Rauthahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bara-Parsa | 100% | 100% | 60% | 100% | 100% |
| Bara-Rautahat | | 100% | 60% | 100% | 100% |
| Tharu-dialect | | | 60% | 100% | 100% |
| Sheikh-dialect | | | | 60% | 60% |
| Rautahat-Sarlahi | | | | | 100% |

Tallying the six varieties of the 1500 words, the five of them are cent percent similar in lexical items. The Sheikh dialect also maintains 60 percent lexical similarity with the other Bhojpuri dialects. The reason is clear, the infinitive verb in Sheikh dialect ends with *–ko* in place of *–ke* in other dialects whereas the adjectives derived from verb in Sheikh dialect ends with *–ā* or *–wā* in place of *–il* or *–el* in other dialects.

| e. g. | Sheikh dialect | other Bhojpuri dialects | English |
|---|---|---|---|
| | $k^hāeko$ | $k^hāeke$ | 'to eat' |
| | $k^hāwā$ | $k^hāil/k^hāel$ | 'eaten' |
| | sunā | sunəl | 'heard' |

**3. Sentence-list**

The study of different varieties of 200 basic sentences in different Bhojpuri dialects the syntactic similarity between the six Bhojpuri dialects found so is mentioned below:

| | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu-Dialect | Sheikh-Dialect | Rauthahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bara-Parsa | 35% | 20% | 20% | 20% | 34% |
| Bara-Rautahat | | 45% | 20% | 45% | 19% |
| Tharu-dialect | | | 18% | 40% | 14% |
| Sheikh-dialect | | | | 16% | 16% |
| Rautahat-Sarlahi | | | | | 15% |

Going through the facts above, the lexical similarity between the Sheikh dialect and other Bhojpuri dialects was seen 75% whereas it is nearest to the Bara-Rautahat and Bara-Parsa dialects to be 20% similar syntactically. At the same time it is the farthest from Rautahat-Sarlahi and Nawalparasi-Rupandehi dialects.

Besides, the comparative study of the syntactic similarity has been performed in micro-basis of phonetic differences. The sentence-list shows that the use of different lexemes in the sentences in Sheikh dialect in comparison to the others is negligible. Only the differences at the word-ending and sentence-ending sounds are noticeable on maximum level.

Likewise, in spite of the micro-study of the similarities and differences among the different Bhojpuri dialects, Bara-Rautahat and Tharu dialects are 70 percent similar to each other, the highest level among others.

Besides the Sheikh dialect, the study of areal differences shows that the Rautahat-Sarlahi and Nawalparasi-Rupandehi dialects are least similar rating 23 percent with each other. Of course, the two dialects are at the eastern and western boundaries of the Bhojpuri speaking region to mark their differences on its maximum.

## 4. Bilingualism & Multilingualism

As the national official language of Nepal and India are Nepali and Hindi respectively, the influence of Nepali and Hindi on Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias is inevitable. Therefore Bhojpurias have to be bilingual as a whole and trilingual and multiligual, particularly in Nepal. The deteriorating situation of Bhojpurias' agro-econonmy, illiteracy and lack of alternative source of employment, Bhojpurias are forced to leave their native land both in Nepal and India seeking employment in non-Bhojpuri regions in homeland or in foreign countries. This is the primary situation why Bhojpurias are dominated with the context of multilingualism.

Besides, neither in Nepal nor in India is Bhojpuri anywhere the medium of instruction in educational institutions. Therefore, the new generation Bhojurias have simply to be bilingual with Nepali or Hindi and trilingual with influence of English in both the countries.

Moreover, Hindi is the lingua franca all over Terai in Nepal and so it's the second language of Bhojpurias. The reason is clear. Their regular access to Indian markets, availability of religious books in Hindi and the prominent role of Bhojpuri in foundation of Hindi are accountable for knowledge of Hindi to be among Bhojpurias.

But the new generation of Nepalese Bhojpurias is being more familiar to Nepali as the vernacular of education in Nepal is Nepali.

**5. Informal Discussion**

Except the sociolinguistic questionnaire, word-list and sentence-list; the researcher had informal discussion, interview and cross-communication with native Bhojpuri speakers. The researcher came to a conclusion that there is negligible difference in language use on the basis of caste and economic prosperity among Bhojpurias.

As the medium of instruction for education in Nepal is Nepali and in India is Hindi and English in both places, the new generation reports deviation in Bhojpuri speaking in name of modernization and standardization by code-mixing and code-switching time to time.

But the Bhojpurias have now been found to preserve their lingual heritage in general.

**6. Taboo Words**

While visiting the doorsteps of Bhojpuria with the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the researcher got notice of the following taboo words in the Bhojpuri society:

**(a) Relation**

There are some words in Bhojpuri, which reflect certain relationship but not to call anybody using these words, but these are not thought to be obscene or vulgar:

| Words | Relationship reflected |
|---|---|
| bʰətijā | 'son of brother' |
| bʰətiji | 'daughter of brother' |
| bʰəginā | 'son of a man's sister' |
| bʰəgini | 'daughter of a man's sister' |
| bəhinput | 'son of a woman's sister' |
| bəhindʰi | 'daughter of a woman's sister' |
| sərbeTā | 'son of a man's brother-in-law' |
| sərbeTi | 'daughter of a man's brother-in-law' |
| jāut | 'son of a woman's brother-in-law' |
| jəidʰi | 'daughter of a woman's brother-in-law' |
| sār | 'brother of one's wife' |
| sāri/sārin/sāli | 'sister of one's wife' |
| dewər | 'brother of one's husband' |
| nənəd | 'sister of one's husband' |
| səsur | 'father of one's husband or wife' |
| sās | 'mother of one's husband or wife' |
| sərhoj | 'wife of sār' |

**(b) Obscene Words**

There are some words in Bhojpuri, quite obscene to utter in public:

| Bhojpuri | English |
|---|---|
| lɑ̃ʀ | 'penis' |
| bur | 'vagina' |
| gɑ̃ʀ | 'anus' |
| bār | 'hair at genital part' |
| jʰɑ̃T | 'hair at genital part' |
| bujəri | 'the one having bur' |
| bʰõsəʀi | 'the one with bār' |
| cʰinəri | 'the woman with loose moral character' |
| peleke | 'fuck' |

| | |
|---|---|
| pelwāweke | 'get fucked' |
| codeke | 'fuck' |
| codwāweke | 'get fucked' |

(c) **Social Prohibition**

There are some words socially prohibited in Bhojpuri speaking society:

e. g.

not to call husband by name, not to call wife by name, not to call anybody in elder age by name, not to call one's teacher by name, not to ask anyone where he or she is going and so on.

**7. Folk Literature**

The folk literature of Bhojpuri is enormous. Wherever one makes a visit to the Bhojpuri speaking zone, s/he gets abundance of Bhojpuri folk literature. There is abundance of folk literature related to the genres of caste system society, agro-based public life, religion, culture, community and society. A few samples are presented in Appendices.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## Summary, Conclusion & Recommendations

### 5.1 Background

Bhojpuri is the third major language of Nepal, spoken in Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, Nawalparasi and Rupandehi of the Terrain region. To find out the language similarity and diversity among Bhojpuri speakers, their attitude towards mother tongue and other languages, the situation of literature in Bhojpuri was the main objective of this research. During preparation of this survey report, Chapter One gave introduction, origin, genetic affiliation tree-diagram, statement of the problem, literature review, research methodology and systematic organisation of the research. Chapter Two shed light on the origin of Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias, their history and current social situation. Chapter Three presented a brief skeleton of Bhojpuri Grammar, which is the first one of this kind in Nepal from the linguistic point of view. Chapter Four presented the findings and analyzed them. After presentation and analysis of the data, this Chapter summarizes, concludes and recommends the further steps necessary to be taken for preservation and promotion with the readers, scholars and all the others concerned including the native Bhojpuri speakers. Likewise, the samples of the Bhojpuri folk literature retrieved during informal dialogues with Bhojpurias, significant enough from the sociolinguistic point of view, are also presented and at last but not the least, the list of references is presented ultimately.

### 5.2 Summary

The following facts can be focused as summary of this Survey:

Bhojpuri is the western language of the eastern group of the Bihari branch of the Indo-Aryan section of the Indo-European family of the world languages. About 200 million people speak it as their mother tongue. Out of them, 17,12,536 people live in Nepal, which is 7.53 percent of total Nepalese populace.

Nepalese Bhojpuri is influenced by Maithili in the east and by Awadhi in the west. The infuence of Nepali is increasing from the north as an areal feature whereas it is influencing on its maximum as the national official language of Nepal. For example, Chitwan was a Bhojpuri speaking area earlier, but now it has become a non-Bhojpuri speaking area due to state-sponsored rehabilitation program to rehabilitate non-Bhojpuri

speaking people there. Similarly Hindi is influencing it from south as this is adjacent to the Indian border southwards where Hindi is a dominant language.

Besides, the migration of Bhojpurias from their native homeland has also now come to be a cause of affecting Bhojpuri.

But a positive aspect can be found in above concern that Bhojpuri is ahead of its neighbours, Maithili and Awadhi, in intelligibility. It is also a little more intelligible than Nepali.

Some sentences have been presented below to justify its intelligibility in comparison to its neighboring languages; Maithili, Awadhi, Hindi and Nepali:

| Bhojpuri | Maithili | Awadhi | Hindi | Nepali | English |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| həm ghəre jātāni | həm ghər e jāit $c^hi$ | həm ghər e jāithən | məĩ $g^hər$ jā rəhā hũ | mə $g^hərə$ jãd əi $c^hu$ | I'm going home. |
| u ghəre jāt ā | u ghəre j āit əi$c^h$ | u ghəre j āt həy | wəh $g^hər$ j ā rəhā həi | u $g^hərə$ jãdəi $c^hə$ | He's going home. |
| tu ghəre jā tāʀə | tu ghəre j āit $c^hə$ | tu ghəre j āt həw | tum $g^hər$ jā rəhe ho | timi $g^hərə$ jã dəi $c^həu$ | You're going home. |

While going through the sentences above, the two initial words in Bhojpuri, Maithili and Awadhi are the same. Hindi and Nepali have difference in vowel sounds. Buth all five languages have different usage of the same root of the verb *jā* for 'go' in English.

But the SOV pattern in all the five languages is the same in sentences.

**1. Language Attitude**

Bhojpurias have not only positive attitude towards Bhojpuri but also towards other languages. But they do have grievances towards negligence of the state for not paying attention to other languages in comparison to Nepali. There is possibility of pessimism in place of dissatisfaction now. In spite of these all difficulties they are very hopeful, increasingly aware of publication, broadcast and education in Bhojpuri seeking progress in coming days.

**2. Language Maintenance**

It is found that Bhojpuri speaking people are too honest to use their language. They use their language in family, with friends, relatives, neighbours and for almost all

works in their daily life. But it seems very difficult to protect the use of language in future because of government's negligence.

**3. Language Change**

Slow but gradual change in use of Bhojpuri has been noticed because of migration of Bhojpurias in other non-Bhojpuri regions due to deteriorating economic situation, lack in official use of Bhojpuri, feeling of inferiority to use the language with strangers, inter-caste marriage of Bhojpurias in Nepal, especially with Nepali speaking bride or bridegroom. The worst menace is experienced in hilly and mountainous regions of Nepal including the Kathmandu valley for Bhojpuras being compelled to their language change because their nationality is questioned in case they use their language.

**4. Language Planning**

Except Nepali, the state hasn't made any effective plan till date to preserve and promote other languages existing in Nepal. In one hand the state observed deepawali when Nepali was included in the 8$^{th}$ schedule of the Indian constitution, but on the other hand the honorable Supreme Court itself probihited the official use of Newari in Kathmanu Metropolis and Maithili in Rajbiraj Municipality and Dhanusha District Development committee. This double standard character of the state crushed Bhojpurias along with other non-Nepali speaking Nepalese populace before they could raise their head for maintenance of their language officially.

**5. Achievement**

The word list of 1500 basic words, the sentence list of 200 basic sentences and a socio linguistic questionnaire including 65 questions here attached with are major achievements of this research. On the basis of facts mentioned above it can be said that 75 to cent percent words are similar in all Bhojpuri dialects. Similarly sentences are also very similar except dissimilarity in the utterance of ending and sometimes middle vowel sounds in words as well as in ending of sentences.

## 5.3 Conclusion

On the basis of the presented data in research it can be clearly said that Bhojpuri is spoken in Central Madhesh of Nepal and the adjacent neighbouring Indian territory of

Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It belongs to Indo-Aryan group of the Indo- European family of languages. It follows the SOV (Subject- Object-Verb) pattern of sentences. Economically it is the language of labour class people and socially it is a polite language. It possesses a long history. But little has been done in the field to written literature of Bhojpuri. Socially, no difference in language use has been reported among Bhojpurias of the same locality on the ground of caste, prosperty, age, sex and so on.

Communally, the language spoken by Tharu in Bhojpuri zone is basically Bhojpuri only. The difference is noticed that it seems a bit deviated from the standard form of Bhoupuri due to lack of formal honorificity as well as a frequent use of fricative consonants in place of affricate ones. In overall, their language is not different from the other forms of Bhoupuri spoken by non-Tharu communities.

Bhojpuri spoken by Muslims particularly by Sheikh community living in Rautahat district is found a bit different from other dialects. The reason is clear; Urdu and Persian have influenced it because the holy Islamic scriptures are found particularly in Urdu and Persian in this locality. Besides, Sheikh community is regarded as a privileged Muslim community. Therefore the Bhojpuri they speak seems a bit different from others.

Yes, Bhojpuri is definitely variable on geographical ground. In Nepal it is nature of the Indo-Aryan languages to gain variation in east-west spread. So, there is influence of Awadhi on Bhojpuri spoken in Nawalparasi and Rupandehi. Similarly, the mix up of Maithili can be noticed from east of Jamuni river in Bara district, its influence starts dominating in the east of Bakeya river in Rautahat. Therfore, efforts are being made to accept Bagmati river as language border between Maithili and Bhojpuri. But the National Census of 2001 reports Bajjika to secure the first position while Bhojpuri acquires the second position in Rautahat District. Obviously the structure of that language is not different from the structure of Rautahat-Sarlahi Bhojpuri.

In the same census, Bhojpuri has secured second position in Sarlahi district. While visiting the field during this survey, the researcher didn't get the Sarlahi inhabitants speaking languages with notable difference to separate in the names of Bhojpuri and Maithili. It is also true that the language spoken there is neither Bhojpuri nor Maithili in exact sense. For pronoun 'you' in Engligh, Sarlahi people use Maithili pronoun *ãhã̃* instead of *rəuā* or *əpne* used in Bhojpuri. Besides, for auxiliary 'is' in English,

Sarlahi people use the auxiliaries *bā, hə* and *cʰəi* at the end of sentences. Hence *bā* and *hə* belong to Bhojpuri whereas *cʰəi* is a bit deviated form of *əicʰ* in Maithili.

Besides these, every human being is free for his/her identity, particularly for the lingual identity. Therefore, I would like to make humble request to people belonging to Tharu or Sheikh community; or people either living in Sarlahi or in Rauthat and others not to lose their macro identity in search of just micro one because it may bring us to a verge of ruin.

Similarly, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 is effortful to define the lingual rights of almost 1.8 million Bhojpurias and other non-Nepali mother tongue speakers in various parts of country identifying their native languages as national languages. But the lack of concrete legislation, rules and regulation, the public efforts for preservation, promotion and use of such languages including Bhojpuri have been observed problematic.

Madhesh including the Bojpuri speaking region is called granary of Nepal. This is the part that identifies Nepal as an agricultural country. All agricultural programs of the government are not being effective in Madhesh due to dissemination of the information only in Nepali language, quite unintelligible among Bhojpurias and other Madheshi farmers. Those who understand the program are other than farmers or peasants and those who are farmers or peasants do not have intelligibility with the programs.

This indifference of the government towards non-Nepali languages in Nepal caused the concerned native speakers to be hopeless for their language use from generation to generation. Some native speakers of Bhoupuri had asked this question to the researcher during the field visit, 'Why should we speak or study Bhojpuri? Does it give us employment?'

## 5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations have been made following this research work:

(a) Seeking the impression of government lingual policies in other countries, the time is running out in Nepal to formulate a concrete lingual policy. Such policy must be effective enough to uplift the languages other than Nepali to use officially, to provide primary education in medium of the language of the locality so that an

easy reach can be made in education for all sectors of society. It will ultimately raise awareness for the nation building.

(b) Under the language policy of the government there is an urgent need to make a linguistic survey in Nepal.

(c) Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bhojpuri Language is required in the entire Bhojpuri speaking region of Nepal and India.

(d) At the same time, I also want to call on Bhojpurias to come ahead for preservation, promotion and use of their language as per the necessity of the day.

At last I would like to express my gratitude towards the Central Department of Linguistics, of Tribhuvan University to let me choose this topic for my dissertation as well as the Royal Nepal Academy for sponsoring me to accomplish this Survey.

# APPENDICES

## Appendix-A: Basic Bhojpuri Word-List

Geography & Geology : Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | sənsār | sənsār | sənsār | sənsār | sənsār | sənsār | World |
| 2. | dʰərtī̃ | dʰərtī̃ | dʰərtī̃ | dʰərtī̃ | dʰərtī̃ | dʰərtī̃ | Earth |
| 3. | ləwkā | ləwkā | ləwkā | ləwkā | ləwkā | ləwkā | Lightning |
| 4. | ākās | ākās | ākās | ākās | ākās | ākās | Sky |
| 5. | purub | purub | purub | purub | purub | purub | East |
| 6. | pəcʰim | pəcʰim | pəcʰim | pəcʰim | pəcʰim | pəcʰim | West |
| 7. | uttər | uttər | uttər | uttər | uttər | uttər | North |
| 8. | dəkkʰin | dəkkʰin | dəkkʰin | dəkkʰin | dəkkʰin | dəkkʰin | South |
| 9. | suruj | suruj | suruj | kirin | suruj | suruj | Sun |
| 10. | cənərmā | cənərmā | cənərmā | cād | cənərmā | cənərmā | Moon |
| 11. | gʰām | gʰām | gʰām | dʰup | gʰām | gʰām | Sunlight |
| 12. | ə̃joriā | ə̃joriā | ĩjoriā | ũjoriā | ə̃joriā | ə̃joriā | Moonlight |
| 13. | surujgərhən | surujgərhən | surujgərhən | surujgərhən | surujgərhən | surujgərhən | Solar-eclipse |
| 14. | tārā | tārā | tārā | tārā | tārā | tārā | Star |
| 15. | bʰuī̃kəmp | bʰuī̃kəmp | bʰuī̃kəmp | bʰuī̃kəmp | bʰuī̃kəmp | bʰuī̃kəmp | Earthquake |
| 16. | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | Cloud |
| 17. | dʰun | dʰun | dʰun | dʰun | dʰun | dʰun | Fog |
| 18. | bərkʰā | bərkʰā | bərkʰā | bərkʰā | bərkʰā | bərkʰā | Rain |
| 19. | pānī̃ | pānī̃ | pānī̃ | pānī̃ | pānī̃ | pānī̃ | Water |
| 20. | koilā | koilā | koilā | koilā | koilā | koilā | Coal |
| 21. | āgī̃ | āgī̃ | āgī̃ | āgī̃ | āgī̃ | āgī̃ | Fire |
| 22. | dʰuwā | dʰuwā | dʰuwā | dʰuwā | dʰuwā | dʰuwā | Smoke |
| 23. | rākʰ | rākʰ | rākʰ | rākʰ | rākʰ | rākʰ | Ash |
| 24. | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | Mountain |
| 25. | cotī̃ | cotī̃ | cotī̃ | cotī̃ | cotī̃ | cotī̃ | Summit |
| 26. | pāt | pāt | pāt | pāt | lain | pāt | Range |
| 27. | himaləy | himaləy | himaləy | himaləy | himaləy | himaləy | Himalayas |
| 28. | sonh | sonh | sonh | sonh | sonh | sonh | Cave |
| 29. | dʰətənī̃ | dʰətənī̃ | dʰətənī̃ | dʰətənī̃ | dʰətənī̃ | dʰətənī̃ | Cliff |
| 30. | pəTʰār | pəTʰār | pəTʰār | pəTʰār | pəTʰār | pəTʰār | Hill |
| 31. | cəTTān | cəTTān | cəTTān | cəTTān | cəTTān | cəTTān | Rock |
| 32. | pəhāRī̃ | pəhāRī̃ | pəhāRī̃ | pəhāRī̃ | pəhāRī̃ | pəhāRī̃ | Hill |
| 33. | prətidʰwəni | prətidʰwəni | prətidʰwəni | prətidʰwəni | prətidʰwəni | prətidʰwəni | Echo |
| 34. | məedān | məedān | məedān | məedān | məedān | məedān | Plain |
| 35. | gəRhā | kʰədhā | kʰədhā | kʰədhā | kʰədʰiā | kʰədhā | Pit |
| 36. | gʰāTī̃ | gʰāTī̃ | gʰāTī̃ | gʰāTī̃ | gʰāTī̃ | gʰāTī̃ | Valley |
| 37. | pənbāhā | pənbāhā | pənbāhā | pənbāhā | pənbāhā | pənbāhā | Outlet |
| 38. | cʰed | cʰed | bil | cʰed | cʰed | cʰed | Hole |
| 39. | srot | srot | srot | srot | srot | srot | Source |
| 40. | bʰũR | bʰũR | bʰũR | bʰũR | bʰũR | bʰũR | Spring |

Geography & Geology : Adjective

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | cəR$^{h}$aĩ | cəR$^{h}$aĩ | cəR$^{h}$aĩ | cəR$^{h}$aĩ | cəR$^{h}$aĩ | cəR$^{h}$aĩ | Steep |
| 2. | D$^{h}$ulkaĩ | D$^{h}$ulkaĩ | D$^{h}$ulkaĩ | D$^{h}$ulkaĩ | D$^{h}$ulkaĩ | D$^{h}$ulkaĩ | Slope |
| 3. | tirc$^{h}$ā | tirc$^{h}$ā | tirc$^{h}$ā | tirc$^{h}$ā | tirc$^{h}$ā | tirc$^{h}$ā | Diagonal |
| 4. | T$^{h}$āRā | T$^{h}$āRā | T$^{h}$āRā | T$^{h}$āRā | T$^{h}$āRā | T$^{h}$āRā | Vertical |
| 5. | g$^{h}$urməuā | g$^{h}$urməuā | g$^{h}$urməuā | g$^{h}$urməuā | g$^{h}$urməuā | g$^{h}$urməuā | Bended |
| 6. | ũc | ũc | ũc | ũcā | ũc | ũc | High |
| 7. | nĩc | nĩc | nĩc | nĩcā | nĩc | nĩc | Low |
| 8. | tej | tej | tej | tej | tej | tej | Sharp |
| 9. | cəməkdār | cəməkdār | cəməkdār | cəməkdār | cəməkdār | cəməkdār | Shining |
| 10. | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | Black |
| 11. | sonəulĩ | sonəulĩ | sonəulĩ | sonəulĩ | sonəulĩ | sonəulĩ | Golden |
| 12. | j$^{h}$ĩskārĩ | j$^{h}$ĩskārĩ | j$^{h}$ĩskārĩ | j$^{h}$ĩskārĩ | p$^{h}$uĩ | j$^{h}$ĩskārĩ | Drizzle |
| 13. | moT | moT | moT | moTā | moT | moT | Thick |
| 14. | musərd$^{h}$ār | musərd$^{h}$ār | musərd$^{h}$ār | musərd$^{h}$ār | musərd$^{h}$ār | musərd$^{h}$ār | Torrential |
| 15. | nok$^{h}$dār | nok$^{h}$dār | nok$^{h}$dār | nok$^{h}$dār | nok$^{h}$dār | nok$^{h}$dār | Pin-pointed |
| 16. | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | Slender |
| 17. | ənhār | ənhār | ənhār | ənhəriā | ənhār | ənhār | Dark |
| 18. | gərəm | gərəm | gərəm | gərəm | gərəm | gərəm | Hot |
| 19. | T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā | T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā | T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā | T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā | T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā | T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā | Cold |
| 20. | gəhĩR | gəhĩR | gəhĩR | gəhĩRā | gəhĩR | gəhĩR | Deep |
| 21. | cəwRā | cəwRā | cəwRā | cəwRā | cəwRā | cəwRā | Wide |
| 22. | nĩlā | nĩlā | nĩlā | nĩlā | nĩlā | nĩlā | Blue |
| 23. | səket | səket | səket | səket | səket | səket | Narrow |
| 24. | up$^{h}$nət | up$^{h}$nət | up$^{h}$nət | up$^{h}$nət | p$^{h}$up$^{h}$uait | up$^{h}$nət | Swollen |
| 25. | p$^{h}$əilĩ | p$^{h}$əilĩ | p$^{h}$əilĩ | p$^{h}$əilĩ | p$^{h}$əilĩ | p$^{h}$əilĩ | Broad |

Geography & Geology : Verb

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | g$^{h}$ām ugeke | g$^{h}$ām ugeke | g$^{h}$ām ugeke | g$^{h}$ām ugeko | g$^{h}$ām ugeke | g$^{h}$ām ugeke | Sun |
| 2. | lukj$^{h}$uk kəreke | lukj$^{h}$uk kəreke | lukj$^{h}$uk kəreke | lukj$^{h}$uk kəreko | lukj$^{h}$uk kəreke | lukj$^{h}$uk kəreke | Flicker |
| 3. | cəmkeke | cəmkeke | cəmkeke | cəmkeko | cəmkeke | cəmkeke | Shine |
| 4. | Dubeke | Dubeke | Dubeke | Dubeko | Dubeke | Dubeke | Set |
| 5. | ugeke | ugeke | ugeke | ugeko | ugeke | ugeke | Rise |
| 6. | ləukeke | ləukeke | ləukeke | ləukeko | ləukeke | ləukeke | Be seen |
| 7. | bərseke | bərseke | bərseke | bərseko | bərseke | bərseke | Rain |
| 8. | ləwkeke | ləwkeke | ləwkeke | ləwkeko | ləwkeke | ləwkeke | Lighten |
| 9. | T$^{h}$ənkeke | T$^{h}$ənkeke | T$^{h}$ənkeke | T$^{h}$ənkeko | T$^{h}$ənkeke | T$^{h}$ənkeke | Thunder |
| 10. | bərəp$^{h}$ gireke | bərəp$^{h}$ gireke | bərəp$^{h}$ gireke | bərəp$^{h}$ gireko | bərəp$^{h}$ gireke | bərəp$^{h}$ gireke | Snow |
| 11. | jəmeke | jəmeke | jəmeke | jəmeko | jəmeke | jəmeke | Freeze |
| 12. | pəg$^{h}$ileke | pəg$^{h}$ileke | pəg$^{h}$ileke | pəg$^{h}$ileko | pəg$^{h}$ileke | pəg$^{h}$ileke | Melt |
| 13. | pānĩ bəheke | pānĩ bəheke | pānĩ bəheke | pānĩ bəheko | pānĩ bəheke | pānĩ bəheke | Flow |
| 14. | hāwā bəheke | hāwā bəheke | hāwā bəheke | hāwā bəheko | hāwā bəheke | hāwā bəheke | Blow |
| 15. | cueke | cueke | cueke | cueko | cueke | cueke | Drip |
| 16. | c$^{h}$iTeke | c$^{h}$iTeke | c$^{h}$iTeke | c$^{h}$iTeko | c$^{h}$iTeke | c$^{h}$iTeke | Sprinkle |
| 17. | D$^{h}$əhiaeke | D$^{h}$əhiaeke | D$^{h}$əhiaeke | D$^{h}$əhiaeko | D$^{h}$əhiaeke | D$^{h}$əhiaeke | Thunder |
| 18. | dahər aweke | dahər aweke | dahər aweke | dahər aweko | dahər aweke | dahər aweke | Flood |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. | cʰətaeke | cʰətaeke | cʰətaeke | cʰətaeko | cʰətaeke | cʰətaeke | Float |
| 20. | Dubeke | Dubeke | Dubeke | Dubeko | Dubeke | Dubeke | Sink |
| 21. | pəũReke | pəũReke | pəũReke | pəũReko | pəũReke | pəũReke | Swim |
| 22. | Dub məreke | Dub məreke | Dub məreke | Dub məreko | Dub məreke | Dub məreke | Drown |
| 23. | Dubā mareke | Dubā mareke | Dubā mareke | Dubā mareko | Dubā mareke | Dubā mareke | Drown |
| 24. | Dʰũkeke | Dʰũkeke | Dʰũkeke | Dʰũkeko | Dʰũkeke | Dʰũkeke | Enter |
| 25. | bʰuR pʰuTeke | bʰuR pʰuTeke | bʰuR pʰuTeke | bʰuR pʰuTeko | bʰuR pʰuTeke | bʰuR pʰuTeke | Spring |

Time & Weather : Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | din | din | din | din | din | din | Day |
| 2. | rāt | rāt | rāt | rāt | rāt | rāt | Night |
| 3. | dinhā ə̃jot | dinhā ə̃jot | dinhā ə̃jot | dinhā ə̃jot | dinhā ə̃jot | dinhā ə̃jot | Daylight |
| 4. | bʰubʰukwā ə̃jot | bʰubʰukwā ə̃jot | bʰubʰukwā ə̃jot | bʰubʰukwā ə̃jot | bʰubʰukwā ə̃jot | bʰubʰukwā ə̃jot | Rising sunlight |
| 5. | suryodəy | suryodəy | suryodəy | suryodəy | suryodəy | suryodəy | Sunrise |
| 6. | bʰor | bʰor | bʰor | bʰor | bʰor | bʰor | Dawn |
| 7. | binəhiā | binəhiā | binəhiā | binəhiā | binəhiā | binəhiā | Morning |
| 8. | suryāst | suryāst | sə̃jʰ | suryāst | suryāst | suryāst | Sunset |
| 9. | duphəriā | duphəriā | dupəhər | duphəriā | duphəriā | duphəriā | Noon |
| 10. | gədber | gədber | gədber | gədber | gədber | gədber | Twilight |
| 11. | jʰolənʰār | jʰolənʰār | jʰolənʰār | jʰolənʰār | jʰolənʰār | jʰolənʰār | Dusk |
| 12. | sə̃jʰ | sə̃jʰ | sə̃jʰ | sə̃jʰ | sə̃jʰ | sə̃jʰ | Evening |
| 13. | həptā | həptā | həptā | həptā | həptā | həptā | Week |
| 14. | purNimā | purNimā | purNimā | purNimā | purNimā | purNimā | Full moon day |
| 15. | əmawəs | əmawəs | əmawəs | əmawəs | əmawəs | əmawəs | New moon day |
| 16. | ekəm | ekəm | ekəm | ekəm | ekəm | ekəm | First day of a Lunar Fortnight |
| 17. | dutiā | dutiā | dutiā | dutiā | dutiā | dutiā | Second day of L. F. |
| 18. | tirtiā | tirtiā | tirtiā | tirtiā | tirtiā | tirtiā | Third day of an L. F. |
| 19. | cəuTʰī̃ | cəuTʰī̃ | cəuTʰī̃ | cəuTʰī̃ | cəuTʰī̃ | cəuTʰī̃ | Fourth day of an L. F. |
| 20. | pə̃cmī̃ | pə̃cmī̃ | pə̃cmī̃ | pə̃cmī̃ | pə̃cmī̃ | pə̃cmī̃ | Fifth day of an L. F. |
| 21. | kʰəsTī̃ | kʰəsTī̃ | kʰəsTī̃ | kʰəsTī̃ | kʰəsTī̃ | kʰəsTī̃ | Sixth day of an L. F. |
| 22. | sətmī̃ | sətmī̃ | sətmī̃ | sətmī̃ | sətmī̃ | sətmī̃ | Seventh day of an L. F. |
| 23. | əTʰmī̃ | əTʰmī̃ | əTʰmī̃ | əTʰmī̃ | əTʰmī̃ | əTʰmī̃ | Eighth day of an L. F. |
| 24. | nəwmī̃ | nəwmī̃ | nəwmī̃ | nəwmī̃ | nəwmī̃ | nəwmī̃ | Ninth day of an L. F. |
| 25. | dəsmī̃ | dəsmī̃ | dəsmī̃ | dəsmī̃ | dəsmī̃ | dəsmī̃ | Tenth day of an L. F. |
| 26. | ekādəsi | ekādəsi | ekādəsi | ekādəsi | ekādəsi | ekādəsi | 11th day of an L. F. |
| 27. | doārsī̃ | doārsī̃ | doārsī̃ | doārsī̃ | doārsī̃ | doārsī̃ | 12th day of an L. F. |
| 28. | terəs | terəs | terəs | terəs | terəs | terəs | 13th day of |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | an L. F. |
| 29. | cəturdəsĩ | cəturdəsĩ | cəturdəsĩ | cəturdəsĩ | cəturdəsĩ | cəturdəsĩ | 14th day of an L. F. |
| 30. | tit$^{h}$ĩ | tit$^{h}$ĩ | tit$^{h}$ĩ | tit$^{h}$ĩ | tit$^{h}$ĩ | tit$^{h}$ĩ | Lunar date |
| 31. | pək$^{h}$ | pək$^{h}$ | pək$^{h}$ | pək$^{h}$ | pək$^{h}$ | pək$^{h}$ | Fortnight |
| 32. | bədĩ | bədĩ | bədĩ | bədĩ | bədĩ | bədĩ | Dark lunar fortnight |
| 33. | sudĩ | sudĩ | sudĩ | sudĩ | sudĩ | sudĩ | Bright lunar fortnight |
| 34. | məhinā | məhinā | məhinā | məhinā | məhinā | məhinā | Month |
| 35. | bəris | bəris | bəris | bəris | bəris | bəris | Year |
| 36. | āj | āj | āj | āj | āj | āj | Today |
| 37. | kāl$^{h}$ | kāl$^{h}$ | kāl$^{h}$ | kāl$^{h}$ | kāl$^{h}$ | kāl$^{h}$ | Yesterday |
| 38. | rāti | rāti | rāti | rāti | rāti | rāti | Last night |
| 39. | āj rāt | āj rāt | āj rāt | āj rāt | āj rāt | āj rāt | Tonight |
| 40. | pərsõ | pərsõ | pərsõ | pərsõ | pərsõ | pərsõ | The day before yesterday or the day after tomorrow |

Time & Weather : Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ən$^{h}$ār | ən$^{h}$ār | ən$^{h}$ār | ən$^{h}$əriā | ən$^{h}$ār | ən$^{h}$ār | Dark |
| 2. | ə̃jot | ə̃jot | ə̃jot | ə̃joriā | ə̃jot | ə̃jot | Light |
| 3. | suk$^{h}$əl | suk$^{h}$əl | suk$^{h}$əl | suk$^{h}$ā | suk$^{h}$əl | suk$^{h}$əl | Dry |
| 4. | pəhp$^{h}$ātəl | pəhp$^{h}$ātəl | pəhp$^{h}$ātəl | pəhp$^{h}$ātā | pəhp$^{h}$ātəl | pəhp$^{h}$ātəl | Dawn |
| 5. | mənləgu | mənləgu | mənləgu | mənləgu | mənləgu | mənləgu | Delightful |
| 6. | jāR | jāR | jāR | jāR | jāR | jāR | Cold |
| 7. | āsāR$^{h}$ĩ | āsāR$^{h}$ĩ | āsāR$^{h}$ĩ | āsāR$^{h}$ĩ | āsāR$^{h}$ĩ | āsāR$^{h}$ĩ | Of the month of Asadh |
| 8. | sāunĩ | sāunĩ | sāunĩ | sāunĩ | sāunĩ | sāunĩ | Of Sawan |
| 9. | b$^{h}$ədəiā | b$^{h}$ədəiā | b$^{h}$ədəiā | b$^{h}$ədəiā | b$^{h}$ədəiā | b$^{h}$ədəiā | Of Bhado |
| 10. | kətkĩ | kətkĩ | kətkĩ | kətkĩ | kətkĩ | kətkĩ | Of Katik |
| 11. | əgəhənĩ | əgəhənĩ | əgəhənĩ | əgəhənĩ | əgəhənĩ | əgəhənĩ | Of Aghan |
| 12. | pusĩ | pusĩ | pusĩ | pusĩ | pusĩ | pusĩ | Of Pus |
| 13. | māg$^{h}$ĩ | māg$^{h}$ĩ | māg$^{h}$ĩ | māg$^{h}$ĩ | māg$^{h}$ĩ | māg$^{h}$ĩ | Of Magh |
| 14. | cəitĩ | cəitĩ | cəitĩ | cəitĩ | cəitĩ | cəitĩ | Of Chait |
| 15. | bəisāk$^{h}$ā | bəisāk$^{h}$ā | bəisāk$^{h}$ā | bəisāk$^{h}$ā | bəisāk$^{h}$ā | bəisāk$^{h}$ā | Of Baisakh |
| 16. | bitəl | bitəl | bitəl | bitā | bitəl | bitəl | Past |
| 17. | āwewālā | āwewālā | āwewālā | āwewālā | āwewālā | āwewālā | Coming |
| 18. | pəc$^{h}$ilā | pəc$^{h}$ilā | pəc$^{h}$ilā | pəc$^{h}$ilā | pəc$^{h}$ilā | pəc$^{h}$ilā | Previous |
| 19. | Dubəl | Dubəl | Dubəl | Dubā | Dubəl | Dubəl | Set |
| 20. | ugəl | ugəl | ugəl | ugā | ugəl | ugəl | Risen |
| 21. | d$^{h}$ire | d$^{h}$ire | d$^{h}$ire | d$^{h}$ire | d$^{h}$ire | d$^{h}$ire | Slow |
| 22. | gəw̃sinā | gəw̃sinā | gəw̃sinā | gəw̃sinā | gəw̃sinā | gəw̃sinā | Sluggish |
| 23. | halsinā | halsinā | halsinā | halsinā | halsinā | halsinā | Quick |
| 24. | əgilā | əgilā | əgilā | əgilā | əgilā | əgilā | Upcoming |
| 25. | jəldĩ | jəldĩ | jəldĩ | jəldĩ | jəldĩ | jəldĩ | Fast |

Geography & Weather : Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | din hoeke | din hoeke | din hoeke | din hoeko | din hoeke | din hoeke | Become day |
| 2. | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeko | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeke | Fall night |
| 3. | ə̃jot hoeke | ə̃jot hoeke | ə̃jot hoeke | ə̃jot hoeko | ə̃jot hoeke | ə̃jot hoeke | Become bright |
| 4. | ənʰār hoeke | ənʰār hoeke | ənʰār hoeke | ənʰār hoeko | ənʰār hoeke | ənʰār hoeke | Become dark |
| 5. | bihan hoeke | bihan hoeke | bihan hoeke | bihan hoeko | bihan hoeke | bihan hoeke | Become morning |
| 6. | əber hoeke | əber hoeke | əber hoeke | əber hoeko | əber hoeke | əber hoeke | Be late |
| 7. | jəldi hoeke | jəldi hoeke | jəldi hoeke | jəldi hoeko | jəldi hoeke | jəldi hoeke | Be fast |
| 8. | sukʰəl hoeke | sukʰəl hoeke | sukʰəl hoeke | sukʰā hoeko | sukʰəl hoeke | sukʰəl hoeke | Become dry |
| 9. | rucikər hoeke | rucikər hoeke | rucikər hoeke | rucikər hoeko | rucikər hoeke | rucikər hoeke | Become interesting |
| 10. | jāR hoeke | jāR hoeke | jāR hoeke | jāR hoeko | jāR hoeke | jāR hoeke | Feel cold |
| 11. | din biteke | din biteke | din biteke | din biteko | din biteke | din biteke | Be the day over |
| 12. | jāR suru hoeke | jāR suru hoeke | jāR suru hoeke | jāR suru hoeko | jāR suru hoeke | jāR suru hoeke | Start winter |
| 13. | həptā biteke | həptā biteke | həptā biteke | həptā biteko | həptā biteke | həptā biteke | Pass the week |
| 14. | məhinā biteke | məhinā biteke | məhinā biteke | məhinā biteko | məhinā biteke | məhinā biteke | Pass the month |
| 15. | bəris biteke | bəris biteke | bəris biteke | bəris biteko | bəris biteke | bəris biteke | Pass the year |
| 16. | sāl aweke | sāl aweke | sāl aweke | sāl aweko | sāl aweke | sāl aweke | Commence the year |
| 17. | sāl bədleke | sāl bədleke | sāl bədleke | sāl bədleko | sāl bədleke | sāl bədleke | Change the year |
| 18. | məhinā bədleke | məhinā bədleke | məhinā bədleke | məhinā bədleko | məhinā bədleke | məhinā bədleke | Change the month |
| 19. | ritu bədleke | ritu bədleke | ritu bədleke | ritu bədleko | ritu bədleke | ritu bədleke | Change the season |
| 20. | titʰi bədleke | titʰi bədleke | titʰi bədleke | titʰi bədleko | titʰi bədleke | titʰi bədleke | Change the lunar date |
| 21. | titʰi lāgeke | titʰi lāgeke | titʰi lāgeke | titʰi lāgeko | titʰi lāgeke | titʰi lāgeke | Begin the lunar date |
| 22. | titʰi pəreke | titʰi pəreke | titʰi pəreke | titʰi pəreko | titʰi pəreke | titʰi pəreke | Fall the lunar date |
| 23. | kirin pʰuteke | kirin pʰuteke | kirin pʰuteke | kirin pʰuteko | kirin pʰuteke | kirin pʰuteke | Rise the sun |
| 24. | ber Dubeke | ber Dubeke | ber Dubeke | ber Dubeko | ber Dubeke | ber Dubeke | Set the sun |
| 25. | sə̃jʰ hoeke | sə̃jʰ hoeke | sə̃jʰ hoeke | sə̃jʰ hoeko | sə̃jʰ hoeke | sə̃jʰ hoeke | Begin dusk |
| 26. | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeko | rāt hoeke | rāt hoeke | Begin night |
| 27. | purNimā āweke | purNimā āweke | purNimā āweke | purNimā āweko | purNimā āweke | purNimā āweke | Fall the full moon |
| 28. | əmāwəs āweke | əmāwəs āweke | əmāwəs āweke | əmāwəs āweko | əmāwəs āweke | əmāwəs āweke | Fall the new moon |
| 29. | din cʰoT hoeke | din cʰoT hoeke | din cʰoT hoeke | din cʰoTā hoeko | din cʰoT hoeke | din cʰoT hoeke | Shorten the day |
| 30. | rāt bəRʰeke | rāt bəRʰeke | rāt bəRʰeke | rāt bəRʰeko | rāt bəRʰeke | rāt bəRʰeke | Lengthen |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | the night |

Human Beings : Nouns for Castes and Occupation

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | Man |
| 2. | jənətā | jənətā | jənətā | jənətā | jənətā | jənətā | People |
| 3. | jingĩ | jingĩ | jingĩ | jingĩ | jingĩ | jingĩ | Life |
| 4. | jənən | jənən | jənən | jənən | jənən | jənən | Birth |
| 5. | mərən | mərən | mərən | məwt | mərən | mərən | Death |
| 6. | jāt | jāt | jāt | jāt | jāt | jāt | Caste |
| 7. | mərəd | mərəd | mərəd | mərəd | mərəd | mərəd | Man |
| 8. | jənĩ | jənĩ | jənĩ | jənĩ | jənĩ | jənĩ | Woman |
| 9. | dʰənik ādmi | dʰənik ādmi | dʰənik ādmi | dʰənik ādmi | dʰənik ādmi | dʰənik ādmi | Richman |
| 10. | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | Rich |
| 11. | nām | nām | nām | nām | nām | nām | Name |
| 12. | gãwwālā | gãwwālā | gãwwālā | gãwwālā | gãwwālā | gãwwālā | Villager |
| 13. | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | Neighbour |
| 14. | sātʰĩ | sātʰĩ | sātʰĩ | sātʰĩ | sātʰĩ | sātʰĩ | Friend |
| 15. | mĩt | mĩt | mĩt | mĩt | mĩt | mĩt | Close friend |
| 16. | dusmən | dusmən | dusmən | dusmən | dusmən | dusmən | Enemy |
| 17. | bidesĩ | bidesĩ | bidesĩ | bidesĩ | bidesĩ | bidesĩ | Foreigner |
| 18. | cor | cor | cor | cor | cor | cor | Thief |
| 19. | jʰuTʰā/ləbrā | jʰuTʰā/ləbrā | jʰuTʰā/ləbrā | jʰuTʰā/ləbrā | jʰuTʰā/ləbrā | jʰuTʰā/ləbrā | Liar |
| 20. | kʰelāRĩ | kʰelāRĩ | kʰelāRĩ | kʰelāRĩ | kʰelāRĩ | kʰelāRĩ | Player |
| 21. | citrəkār | citrəkār | citrəkār | citrəkār | citrəkār | citrəkār | Fine artist |
| 22. | kəlākār | kəlākār | kəlākār | kəlākār | kəlākār | kəlākār | Artist |
| 23. | bəjwəiā | bəjwəiā | bəjwəiā | bəjwəiā | bəjwəiā | bəjwəiā | Musician |
| 24. | gəwəiā | gəwəiā | gəwəiā | gəwəiā | gəwəiā | gəwəiā | Singer |
| 25. | nəcəniā | nəcəniā | nəcəniā | nəcəniā | nəcəniā | nəcəniā | Dancer |
| 26. | bābʰən | bābʰən | bābʰən | bābʰən | bābʰən | bābʰən | Brahmin |
| 27. | mukʰiā | mukʰiā | mukʰiā | mukʰiā | mukʰiā | mukʰiā | Chieftain |
| 28. | dās | dās | dās | dās | dās | dās | Slave |
| 29. | guru | guru | guru | ostād | guru | guru | Teacher |
| 30. | gəhãkĩ/gãhãk | gəhãkĩ/gãhãk | gəhãkĩ/gãhãk | gəhãkĩ/gãhãk | gəhãkĩ/gãhãk | gəhãkĩ/gãhãk | Customer |
| 31. | bepārĩ | bepārĩ | bepārĩ | bepārĩ | bepārĩ | bepārĩ | Trader |
| 32. | bʰikʰmāŋā, bʰikʰār | bʰikʰmāŋā, bʰikʰār | bʰikʰmāŋā, bʰikʰār | bʰikʰmāŋā, bʰikʰār | bʰikʰmāŋā, bʰikʰār | bʰikʰmāŋā, bʰikʰār | Beggar |
| 33. | məhājən | məhājən | məhājən | məhājən | məhājən | məhājən | Creditor |
| 34. | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | Cook |
| 35. | mālik | mālik | mālik | mālik | mālik | mālik | Master |
| 36. | nokər | nokər | nokər | nokər | nokər | nokər | Servant |
| 37. | dāĩ | dāĩ | dāĩ | dāĩ | dāĩ | dāĩ | Nurse |
| 38. | kulĩ | kulĩ | kulĩ | kulĩ | kulĩ | kulĩ | Coolie |
| 39. | lohār | lohār | lohār | lohār | lohār | lohār | Blacksmith |
| 40. | məjdur, bənihār | məjdur, bənihār | məjdur, bənihār | məjdur, bənihār | məjdur, bənihār | məjdur, bənihār | Labourer |
| 41. | jānā | jānā | jānā | jānā | jānā | jānā | Farm-labourer |
| 42. | cərwāhā | cərwāhā | cərwāhā | cərwāhā | cərwāhā | cərwāhā | Shepherd |
| 43. | kisān | kisān | kisān | kisān | kisān | kisān | Peasant |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 44. | sikārĩ | sikārĩ | sikārĩ | sikārĩ | sikārĩ | sikārĩ | Hunter |
| 45. | cor sikārĩ | cor sikārĩ | cor sikārĩ | cor sikārĩ | cor sikārĩ | cor sikārĩ | Poacher |
| 46. | kẽwəT | kẽwəT | kẽwəT | kẽwəT | kẽwəT | kẽwəT | Boatman |
| 47. | məlāh | məlāh | məlāh | məlāh | məlāh | məlāh | Fisherman |
| 48. | jolhā | jolhā | jolhā | ənsārĩ | jolhā | jolhā | Weaver |
| 49. | kumhār | kumhār | kumhār | kumhār | kumhār | kumhār | Potter |
| 50. | dākTər | dākTər | dākTər | dākTər | dākTər | dākTər | Doctor |
| 51. | rənDĩ | rənDĩ | rənDĩ | rənDĩ | rənDĩ | rənDĩ | Prostitute |
| 52. | dərjĩ | dərjĩ | dərjĩ | dərjĩ | dərjĩ | dərjĩ | Tailor |
| 53. | sonār | sonār | sonār | sonār | sonār | sonār | Goldsmith |
| 54. | cəmār | cəmār | cəmār | cəmār | cəmār | cəmār | Cobbler |
| 55. | Dāku | Dāku | Dāku | Dāku | Dāku | Dāku | Robber |
| 56. | sosək | sosək | sosək | sosək | sosək | sosək | Exploiter |
| 57. | sāmənt | sāmənt | sāmənt | sāmənt | sāmənt | sāmənt | Feudal |
| 58. | jimdār | jimdār | jimdār | jimdār | jimdār | jimdār | Landlord |
| 59. | bə̃Taidār | bə̃Taidār | bə̃Taidār | bə̃Taidār | bə̃Taidār | bə̃Taidār | Tenant |
| 60. | jəmin māli k | jəmin māli k | jəmin mālik | jəmin māli k | jəmin mālik | jəmin māli k | Landowner |
| 61. | $b^hã$R | $b^hã$R | $b^hã$R | $b^hã$R | $b^hã$R | $b^hã$R | |
| 62. | jogĩ | jogĩ | jogĩ | jogĩ | jogĩ | jogĩ | Hermit |
| 63. | sənyasi | sənyasi | sənyasi | sənyasi | sənyasi | sənyasi | Saint |
| 64. | $əd^hyəkc^h$ | $əd^hyəkc^h$ | $əd^hyəkc^h$ | $əd^hyəkc^h$ | $əd^hyəkc^h$ | $əd^hyəkc^h$ | President |
| 65. | $upad^hyəkc^h$ | $upad^hyəkc^h$ | $upad^hyəkc^h$ | $upad^hyəkc^h$ | $upad^hyəkc^h$ | $upad^hyəkc^h$ | Vice-president |
| 66. | $waRad^hyək c^h$ | $waRad^hyək c^h$ | $waRad^hyək c^h$ | $waRad^hyək c^h$ | $waRad^hyək c^h$ | $waRad^hyək c^h$ | Ward-chief |
| 67. | ward sədəs yə | ward sədəs yə | ward sədəs yə | ward sədəs yə | ward sədəs yə | ward sədəs yə | Ward-member |
| 68. | $səb^hapəti$ | $səb^hapəti$ | $səb^hapəti$ | $səb^hapəti$ | $səb^hapəti$ | $səb^hapəti$ | Chairperson |
| 69. | $upsəb^hapəti$ | $upsəb^hapət i$ | $upsəb^hapəti$ | $upsəb^hapət i$ | $upsəb^hapəti$ | $upsəb^hapət i$ | Vice-chairperson |
| 70. | səciw | səciw | səciw | səciw | səciw | səciw | Secretary |
| 71. | mənəniyə | mənəniyə | mənəniyə | mənəniyə | mənəniyə | mənəniyə | Honorable |
| 72. | məntrĩ | məntrĩ | məntrĩ | məntrĩ | məntrĩ | məntrĩ | Minister |
| 73. | səmmənəni yə | səmmənəni yə | səmmənəni yə | səmmənəni yə | səmmənəni yə | səmmənəni yə | Right-honorable |
| 74. | rājā | rājā | rājā | rājā | rājā | rājā | King |
| 75. | rānĩ | rānĩ | rānĩ | rānĩ | rānĩ | rānĩ | Queen |

Human Beings : Nouns for Relationship

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bābā | bābā | bābā | dādā | bābā | bābā | Grandfather (paternal) |
| 2. | dāĩ | dāĩ | dāĩ | dādĩ | dāĩ | dādĩ | grandmother (paternal) |
| 3. | nānā | nānā | nānā | nānā | nānā | nānā | Grandfather (maternal) |
| 4. | nānĩ | nānĩ | nānĩ | nānĩ | nānĩ | nānĩ | grandmother (maternal) |
| 5. | bābu | bābu | bābu | əbbā | bābu | bābu | Father |
| 6. | māĩ | māĩ | māĩ | əmmā | māĩ | māĩ | Mother |
| 7. | $pəti/b^hətār$ | $pəti/b^hətār$ | $pəti/b^hətār$ | miā/səwhər | $pəti/b^hətār$ | $pəti/b^hətār$ | Husband |
| 8. | pətnĩ/māū | pətnĩ/māū | pətnĩ/māū | bĩbĩ | pətnĩ/māū | pətnĩ/māū | Wife |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | beTā | beTā | beTā | beTā | beTā | beTā | Son |
| 10. | beTī̄ | beTī̄ | beTī̄ | beTī̄ | beTī̄ | beTī̄ | Daughter |
| 11. | bʰəiā | bʰəiā | bʰəiā | bʰəiā | bʰəiā | bʰəiā | Elder brother |
| 12. | bʰāī̄ | bʰāī̄ | bʰāī̄ | bʰāī̄ | bʰāī̄ | bʰāī̄ | Younger brother |
| 13. | bəhin | bəhin | bəhin | bəhin | bəhin | bəhin | Sister |
| 14. | bəRkā bābu | bəRkā bābu | bəRkā bābu | bəRkā əbbā | bəRkā bābu | bəRkā bābu | Uncle (elder than father) |
| 15. | bəRkī̄ māī̄ | bəRkī̄ māī̄ | bəRkī̄ māī̄ | əmmā, cācī̄ | bəRkī̄ māī̄ | bəRkī̄ māī̄ | Aunt (elder than mother) |
| 16. | kākā/cācā | kākā/cācā | kākā/cācā | cācā | kākā/cācā | kākā/cācā | Uncle (Father's brother) |
| 17. | kākī̄/cācī̄ | kākī̄/cācī̄ | kākī̄/cācī̄ | kākī̄/cācī̄ | kākī̄/cācī̄ | kākī̄/cācī̄ | Aunt (wife of father's brother) |
| 18. | səmdʰī̄ | səmdʰī̄ | səmdʰī̄ | səmdʰī̄ | səmdʰī̄ | səmdʰī̄ | Father-in-law of son or daughter |
| 19. | səmdʰinī̄ | səmdʰinī̄ | səmdʰinī̄ | səmdʰinī̄ | səmdʰinī̄ | səmdʰinī̄ | Mother-in-law of son or daughter |
| 20. | səsur | səsur | səsur | səsur əbbā | səsur | səsur | Father-in-law |
| 21. | sās | sās | sās | sās | sās | sās | Mother-in-law |
| 22. | putoh | putoh | putoh | bəhū | putoh | putoh | Daughter-in-law |
| 23. | dāmād | dāmād | dāmād | dāmād | dāmād | dāmād | Son-in-law |
| 24. | bəhnoī̄ | bəhnoī̄ | bəhnoī̄ | bəhnoī̄ | bəhnoī̄ | bəhnoī̄ | Brother-in-law (husband of sister) |
| 25. | nəndosī̄ | nəndosī̄ | nəndosī̄ | nəndosī̄ | nəndosī̄ | nəndosī̄ | Brother-in-law (husband's sister's husband) |
| 26. | pʰupʰū, pʰuā | pʰupʰū, pʰuā | pʰupʰū, pʰuā | pʰupʰū, buā | pʰupʰū, pʰuā | pʰupʰū, pʰuā | Aunt (sister of father) |
| 27. | pʰupʰā | pʰupʰā | pʰupʰā | pʰupʰā | pʰupʰā | pʰupʰā | Uncle (husband of father's sister) |
| 28. | nənəd | nənəd | nənəd | nənəd | nənəd | nənəd | Sister-in-law (husband's sister) |
| 29. | deādin | deādin | deādin | deādin | deādin | deādin | Sister-in-law (wife of husband's brother) |
| 30. | bʰətijā | bʰətijā | bʰətijā | bʰətijā | bʰətijā | bʰətijā | Nephew (Brother's son) |
| 31. | bʰətijī̄ | bʰətijī̄ | bʰətijī̄ | bʰətijī̄ | bʰətijī̄ | bʰətijī̄ | Niece (Brother's daughter) |
| 32. | bəhinput | bəhinput | bəhinput | bəhinput | bəhinput | bəhinput | Nephew (a woman's sister's son) |
| 33. | bəhindhī̄ | bəhindhī̄ | bəhindhī̄ | bəhindhī̄ | bəhindhī̄ | bəhindhī̄ | Niece (a |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | woman's sister's daughter) |
| 34. | māmā | māmā | māmā | māmā | māmā | māmā | Uncle (maternal) |
| 35. | māmĩ | māmĩ | māmĩ | māmĩ | māmĩ | māmĩ | Aunt (maternal uncle's wife) |
| 36. | bʰəginā | bʰəginā | bʰəginā | bʰəginā | bʰəginā | bʰəginā | Nephew (a man's sister's son) |
| 37. | bʰəginĩ | bʰəginĩ | bʰəginĩ | bʰəginĩ | bʰəginĩ | bʰəginĩ | Niece (a man's sister's daughter) |
| 38. | jāut | jāut | jāut | jāut | jāut | jāut | Nephew (son of husband's brother) |
| 39. | jəidʰĩ | jəidʰĩ | jəidʰĩ | jəidʰĩ | jəidʰĩ | jəidʰĩ | Niece (daughter of husband's brother) |
| 40. | sərbeTā | sərbeTā | sərbeTā | sərbeTā | sərbeTā | sərbeTā | Nephew (son of wife's brother) |
| 41. | sərbeTĩ | sərbeTĩ | sərbeTĩ | sərbeTĩ | sərbeTĩ | sərbeTĩ | Niece (daughter of wife's brother) |
| 42. | jeTʰsər | jeTʰsər | jeTʰsər | jeTʰsər | jeTʰsər | jeTʰsər | Sister-in-law (wife's elder sister) |
| 43. | sārĩ | sārĩ | sārĩ | sālĩ | sārĩ | sārĩ | Sister-in-law (wife's younger sister) |
| 44. | sərhoj | sərhoj | sərhoj | sərhoj | sərhoj | sərhoj | Sister-in-law (wife's brother's wife) |
| 45. | jeTʰān | jeTʰān | jeTʰān | jeTʰān | jeTʰān | jeTʰān | Brother-in-law (wife's elder brother) |
| 46. | potā | potā | potā | potā | potā | potā | Grandson (son of son) |
| 47. | potĩ | potĩ | potĩ | potĩ | potĩ | potĩ | Granddaughter (daughter of son) |
| 48. | nātĩ | nātĩ | nātĩ | nātĩ | nātĩ | nātĩ | Grandson (son of daughter) |
| 49. | nətnĩ | nətnĩ | nətnĩ | nətnĩ | nətnĩ | nətnĩ | Granddaughter (daughter of daughter) |
| 50. | sār | sār | sār | sālā | sār | sār | Brother-in-law (wife's younger brother) |

Human Beings : Adjectives for Caste and Occupation

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | Black |
| 2. | gor | gor | gor | gorā | gor | gor | White |
| 3. | moT | moT | moT | moTā | moT | moT | Fat |
| 4. | dubər | dubər | dubər | dubrā | dubər | dubər | Thin |
| 5. | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāTā | nāT | nāT | Short |
| 6. | ləmbu | ləmbu | ləmbu | ləmbu | ləmbu | ləmbu | Tall |
| 7. | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | Dumb |
| 8. | cālāk | cālāk | cālāk | cālāk | cālāk | cālāk | Clever |
| 9. | ləmhər | ləmhər | ləmhər | ləmhər | ləmhər | ləmhər | Long |
| 10. | cʰoT | cʰoT | cʰoT | cʰoTā | cʰoT | cʰoT | Short |
| 11. | jənməl | jənməl | jənməl | jənmā | jənməl | jənməl | Born |
| 12. | mərəl | mərəl | mərəl | mərā | mərəl | mərəl | Dead |
| 13. | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | Big/large |
| 14. | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | Small |
| 15. | cʰūt | cʰūt | cʰūt | cʰūt | cʰūt | cʰūt | Touchable |
| 16. | əcʰūt/əcʰop | əcʰūt/əcʰop | əcʰūt/əcʰop | əcʰūt/əcʰop | əcʰūt/əcʰop | əcʰūt/əcʰop | Untouchable |
| 17. | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | Rich/tycoon |
| 18. | gərib | gərib | gərib | gərib | gərib | gərib | Poor |
| 19. | Deraput | Deraput | Deraput | Deraput | Deraput | Deraput | Coward |
| 20. | DʰiTʰ | DʰiTʰ | DʰiTʰ | DʰiTʰ | DʰiTʰ | DʰiTʰ | Bold |
| 21. | gāw ke | gāw ke | gāw ke | gāw ke | gāw ke | gāw ke | Rural |
| 22. | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | pərosiā | Neighbour |
| 23. | ləgəhi ke | ləgəhi ke | ləgəhi ke | ləgəhi ke | ləgəhi ke | ləgəhi ke | Nearer |
| 24. | dūr ke | dūr ke | dūr ke | dūr ke | dūr ke | dūr ke | Farther |
| 25. | mənmĩt | mənmĩt | mənmĩt | mənmĩt | mənmĩt | mənmĩt | Intimate |
| 26. | nāmĩ | nāmĩ | nāmĩ | nāmĩ | nāmĩ | nāmĩ | Famous |
| 27. | dostĩ | dostĩ | dostĩ | dostĩ | dostĩ | dostĩ | Friendship |
| 28. | ũc jāt ke | ũc jāt ke | ũc jāt ke | ũc jāt ke | ũc jāt ke | ũc jāt ke | High caste |
| 29. | nĩc jāt ke | nĩc jāt ke | nĩc jāt ke | nĩc jāt ke | nĩc jāt ke | nĩc jāt ke | Low caste |
| 30. | jeTʰ | jeTʰ | jeTʰ | jeTʰā | jeTʰ | jeTʰ | The eldest |
| 31. | mājʰil | mājʰil | mājʰil | məjʰilā | mājʰil | mājʰil | Second eldest |
| 32. | korpõcʰū | korpõcʰū | korpõcʰū | korpõcʰū | korpõcʰū | korpõcʰū | Youngest |
| 33. | juwāRĩ | juwāRĩ | juwāRĩ | juwāRĩ | juwāRĩ | juwāRĩ | Gambler |
| 34. | ghumən tā | ghumən tā | ghumən tā | beTʰgamnĩ | ghumən tā | ghumən tā | Nomadic |
| 35. | lūTerā | lūTerā | lūTerā | lūTerā | lūTerā | lūTerā | Looter |
| 36. | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | Culprit |
| 37. | əprādʰĩ | əprādʰĩ | əprādʰĩ | əprādʰĩ | əprādʰĩ | əprādʰĩ | Criminal |
| 38. | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | Innocent |
| 39. | sikcʰit | sikcʰit | sikcʰit | pəRʰālikʰā | sikcʰit | sikcʰit | Educated |
| 40. | əsikcʰit | əsikcʰit | əsikcʰit | ənpəRʰ | əsikcʰit | əsikcʰit | Uneducated |
| 41. | pəRʰəl | pəRʰəl | pəRʰəl | pəRʰā | pəRʰəl | pəRʰəl | Literate |
| 42. | nipəRʰ | nipəRʰ | nipəRʰ | ənpəRʰ | nipəRʰ | nipəRʰ | Illiterate |
| 43. | pəkRāil | pəkRāil | pəkRāil | pəkRānā | pəkRāil | pəkRāil | Arrested/ Captured |
| 44. | gʰerāil | gʰerāil | gʰerāil | tʰunānā | gʰerāil | gʰerāil | Imprisoned |
| 45. | cʰutəl/ cʰoRəl | cʰutəl/ cʰoRəl | cʰutəl/ cʰoRəl | cʰutā/ cʰoRā | cʰutəl/ cʰoRəl | cʰutəl/ cʰoRəl | Released |

Human Beings : Verbs for Castes and Occupation

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | jieke | jieke | jieke | jieko | jieke | jieke | Live |
| 2. | bɑ̃ceke | bɑ̃ceke | bɑ̃ceke | bɑ̃ceko | bɑ̃ceke | bɑ̃ceke | Survive |
| 3. | bə̃cɑ̄weke | bə̃cɑ̄weke | bə̃cɑ̄weke | bə̃cɑ̄weko | bə̃cɑ̄weke | bə̃cɑ̄weke | Save |
| 4. | $c^{h}$oReke | $c^{h}$oReke | $c^{h}$oReke | $c^{h}$oReko | $c^{h}$oReke | $c^{h}$oReke | Leave |
| 5. | $g^{h}$umeke | $g^{h}$umeke | $g^{h}$umeke | $g^{h}$umeko | $g^{h}$umeke | $g^{h}$umeke | Walk |
| 6. | ɑ̄weke | ɑ̄weke | ɑ̄weke | ɑ̄weko | ɑ̄weke | ɑ̄weke | Come |
| 7. | dəm $d^{h}$əreke | dəm $d^{h}$əreke | dəm $d^{h}$əreke | dəm $d^{h}$əreko | dəm $d^{h}$əreke | dəm $d^{h}$əreke | Rest |
| 8. | $dek^{h}b^{h}ɑ̄l$ kəreke | $dek^{h}b^{h}ɑ̄l$ kəreke | $dek^{h}b^{h}ɑ̄l$ kəreke | $dek^{h}b^{h}ɑ̄l$ kəreko | $dek^{h}b^{h}ɑ̄l$ kəreke | $dek^{h}b^{h}ɑ̄l$ kəreke | Look after |
| 9. | $dūd^{h}$ piɑ̄weke | $dūd^{h}$ piɑ̄weke | $dūd^{h}$ piɑ̄weke | $dūd^{h}$ piɑ̄weko | $dūd^{h}$ piɑ̄weke | $dūd^{h}$ piɑ̄weke | Feed milk |
| 10. | poseke | poseke | poseke | poseko | poseke | poseke | Nourish |
| 11. | jənmeke | jənmeke | jənmeke | jənmeko | jənmeke | jənmeke | Be born |
| 12. | pɑ̄leke | pɑ̄leke | pɑ̄leke | pɑ̄leko | pɑ̄leke | pɑ̄leke | Pet |
| 13. | $d^{h}$yɑ̄n nə deweke | $d^{h}$yɑ̄n nə deweke | $d^{h}$yɑ̄n nə deweke | $d^{h}$yɑ̄n nə deweko | $d^{h}$yɑ̄n nə deweke | $d^{h}$yɑ̄n nə deweke | Neglect |
| 14. | $b^{h}ɑ̃w$ bənke cəleke | $b^{h}ɑ̃w$ bənk e cəleke | $b^{h}ɑ̃w$ bənke cəleke | $b^{h}ɑ̃w$ bənk e cəleko | $b^{h}ɑ̃w$ bənke cəleke | $b^{h}ɑ̃w$ bənk e cəleke | Crawl |
| 15. | tejeke | tejeke | tejeke | tejeko | tejeke | tejeke | Give up |
| 16. | ciũTi kɑ̄Teke | ciũTi kɑ̄Teke | ciũTi kɑ̄Teke | ciũTi kɑ̄Teko | ciũTi kɑ̄Teke | ciũTi kɑ̄Teke | Pinch |
| 17. | gudgudī̃ lɑ̄geke | gudgudī̃ lɑ̄geke | gudgudī̃ lɑ̄geke | gudgudī̃ lɑ̄geko | gudgudī̃ lɑ̄geke | gudgudī̃ lɑ̄geke | Be tickled |
| 18. | gudgudī̃ ləgɑ̄weke | gudgudī̃ ləgɑ̄weke | gudgudī̃ ləgɑ̄weke | gudgudī̃ ləgɑ̄weko | gudgudī̃ ləgɑ̄weke | gudgudī̃ ləgɑ̄weke | Tickle |
| 19. | bə$R^{h}$eke | bə$R^{h}$eke | bə$R^{h}$eke | bə$R^{h}$eko | bə$R^{h}$eke | bə$R^{h}$eke | Grow |
| 20. | $g^{h}$əTeke | $g^{h}$əTeke | $g^{h}$əTeke | $g^{h}$əTeko | $g^{h}$əTeke | $g^{h}$əTeke | Reduce |
| 21. | gɑ̄Reke | gɑ̄Reke | gɑ̄Reke | gɑ̄Reko | gɑ̄Reke | gɑ̄Reke | Bury |
| 22. | $p^{h}ɑ̃$Teke | $p^{h}ɑ̃$Teke | $p^{h}ɑ̃$Teke | $p^{h}ɑ̃$Teko | $p^{h}ɑ̃$Teke | $p^{h}ɑ̃$Teke | Share |
| 23. | ɑ̄pən $hok^{h}$eke | əpən $hok^{h}$eke | əpən $hok^{h}$eke | əpən hoeko | əpən $hok^{h}$eke | ɑ̄pən $hok^{h}$eke | Befriend |
| 24. | bɑ̃Teke | bɑ̃Teke | bɑ̃Teke | bɑ̃Teko | bɑ̃Teke | bɑ̃Teke | Distribute |
| 25. | bɑ̄lbɑ̄l bə̃ceke | bɑ̄lbɑ̄l bə̃ceke | bɑ̄lbɑ̄l bə̃ceke | bɑ̄lbɑ̄l bə̃ceko | bɑ̄lbɑ̄l bə̃ceke | bɑ̄lbɑ̄l bə̃ceke | Escape |
| 26. | bə̃Twɑ̄rɑ̄ kəreke | bə̃Twɑ̄rɑ̄ kəreke | bə̃Twɑ̄rɑ̄ kəreke | bə̃Twɑ̄rɑ̄ kəreko | bə̃Twɑ̄rɑ̄ kəreke | bə̃Twɑ̄rɑ̄ kəreke | Separate |
| 27. | posput bənɑ̄weke | posput bənɑ̄weke | posput bənɑ̄weke | posput bənɑ̄weko | posput bənɑ̄weke | posput bənɑ̄weke | Adopt a son |
| 28. | $sik^{h}$eke | $sik^{h}$eke | $sik^{h}$eke | $sik^{h}$eko | $sik^{h}$eke | $sik^{h}$eke | Learn |
| 29. | $sik^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $sik^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $sik^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $sik^{h}ɑ̄$weko | $sik^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $sik^{h}ɑ̄$weke | Teach |
| 30. | pə$R^{h}ɑ̄$weke | pə$R^{h}ɑ̄$weke | pə$R^{h}ɑ̄$weke | pə$R^{h}ɑ̄$weko | pə$R^{h}ɑ̄$weke | pə$R^{h}ɑ̄$weke | Teach |
| 31. | pə$R^{h}$eke | pə$R^{h}$eke | pə$R^{h}$eke | pə$R^{h}$eko | pə$R^{h}$eke | pə$R^{h}$eke | Read |
| 32. | ə$d^{h}$yəyn kəreke | ə$d^{h}$yəyn kəreke | ə$d^{h}$yəyn kəreke | ə$d^{h}$yəyn kəreko | ə$d^{h}$yəyn kəreke | ə$d^{h}$yəyn kəreke | Study |
| 33. | $lik^{h}$eke | $lik^{h}$eke | $lik^{h}$eke | $lik^{h}$eko | $lik^{h}$eke | $lik^{h}$eke | Write |
| 34. | $li^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $li^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $li^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $li^{h}ɑ̄$weko | $li^{h}ɑ̄$weke | $li^{h}ɑ̄$weke | Dictate to write |
| 35. | kəmɑ̄eke | kəmɑ̄eke | kəmɑ̄eke | kəmɑ̄eko | kəmɑ̄eke | kəmɑ̄eke | Earn |
| 36. | nɑ̄ceke | nɑ̄ceke | nɑ̄ceke | nɑ̄ceko | nɑ̄ceke | nɑ̄ceke | Dance |
| 37. | nəcɑ̄weke | nəcɑ̄weke | nəcɑ̄weke | nəcɑ̄weko | nəcɑ̄weke | nəcɑ̄weke | Spin |
| 38. | əməl | əməl | əməl | əməl | əməl | əməl | Take |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | kʰãeke | kʰãeke | kʰãeke | kʰãeko | kʰãeke | kʰãeke | nicotine |
| 39. | māteke/ bəurāeke | māteke/ bəurāeke | māteke/ bəurāeke | māteko/ bəurāeko | māteke/ bəurāeke | māteke/ bəurāeke | Be intoxicated |
| 40. | juā kʰeleke | juā kʰeleke | juā kʰeleke | juā kʰeleko | juā kʰeleke | juā kʰeleke | Gamble |
| 41. | bʰərmeke | bʰərmeke | bʰərmeke | gʰumeko | bʰərmeke | bʰərmeke | Visit/tour |
| 42. | Təhəleke | Təhəleke | Təhəleke | Təhəleko | Təhəleke | Təhəleke | Walk |
| 43. | lādeke | lādeke | lādeke | lādeko | lādeke | lādeke | Load |
| 44. | Dʰoeke | Dʰoeke | Dʰoeke | Dʰoeko | Dʰoeke | Dʰoeke | Carry |
| 45. | sāit dekʰeke | sāit dekʰeke | sāit dekʰeke | sāit dekʰeko | sāit dekʰeke | sāit dekʰeke | Auspice |
| 46. | cəlāweke | cəlāweke | cəlāweke | cəlāweko | cəlāweke | cəlāweke | Move |
| 47. | kʰeweke | kʰeweke | kʰeweke | kʰeweko | kʰeweke | kʰeweke | Row |
| 48. | Dãk māreke | Dãk māreke | Dãk māreke | Dãk māreko | Dãk māreke | Dãk māreke | Rob |
| 49. | corāweke | corāweke | corāweke | corāweko | corāweke | corāweke | Steal |
| 50. | lūTeke | lūTeke | lūTeke | lūTeko | lūTeke | lūTeke | Loot |
| 51. | həmlā kəreke/ dʰāwā boleke | həmlā kəreke/ dʰāwā boleke | həmlā kəreke/ dʰāwā boleke | həmlā kəreko/ dʰāwā boleko | həmlā kəreke/ dʰāwā boleke | həmlā kəreke/ dʰāwā boleke | Attack |
| 52. | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreko | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreke | Insult |
| 53. | səRyəntrə rəceke | səRyəntrə rəceke | səRyəntrə rəceke | səRyəntrə rəceko | səRyəntrə rəceke | səRyəntrə rəceke | Conspire |
| 54. | ulləŋʰən kəreke | ulləŋʰən kəreke | ulləŋʰən kəreke | ulləŋʰən kəreko | ulləŋʰən kəreke | ulləŋʰən kəreke | Violate |
| 55. | səŋkā kəreke | səŋkā kəreke | səŋkā kəreke | səŋkā kəreko | səŋkā kəreke | səŋkā kəreke | Suspect |
| 56. | ujur kəreke /orhən deweke | ujur kəreke /orhən deweke | ujur kəreke/ orhən deweke | ujur kəreko /orhən deweko | ujur kəreke/ orhən deweke | ujur kəreke /orhən deweke | Complain |
| 57. | ureheke | ureheke | ureheke | ureheko | ureheke | ureheke | Sketch |
| 58. | nyāy kəreke | nyāy kəreke | nyāy kəreke | insāpʰ kəreko | nyāy kəreke | nyāy kəreke | Judge |
| 59. | dosi Tʰəhrāweke | dosi Tʰəhrāwek e | dosi Tʰəhrāweke | dosi Tʰəhrāwek o | dosi Tʰəhrāweke | dosi Tʰəhrāwek e | Convict |
| 60. | dənD/ jurbānā kəreke | dənD/ jurbānā kəreke | dənD/ jurbānā kəreke | dənD/ jurbānā kəreko | dənD/ jurbānā kəreke | dənD/ jurbānā kəreke | Punish/fine |
| 61. | dənD/ jurbānā tireke | dənD/ jurbānā tireke | dənD/ jurbānā tireke | dənD/ jurbānā tireko | dənD/ jurbānā tireke | dənD/ jurbānā tireke | Serve sentence/ Pay fine |
| 62. | sətāweke | sətāweke | sətāweke | sətāweko | sətāweke | sətāweke | Oppress |
| 63. | hərān kəreke | hərān kəreke | hərān kəreke | hərān kəreko | hərān kəreke | hərān kəreke | Trouble |
| 64. | yātənā deweke | yātənā deweke | yātənā deweke | yātənā deweko | yātənā deweke | yātənā deweke | Torture |
| 65. | dukʰ deweke | dukʰ deweke | dukʰ deweke | dukʰ deweko | dukʰ deweke | dukʰ deweke | Hurt |
| 66. | cʰuTkārā deweke | cʰuTkārā deweke | cʰuTkārā deweke | cʰuTkārā deweko | cʰuTkārā deweke | cʰuTkārā deweke | Relieve |
| 67. | bədlā sədʰāweke | bədlā sədʰāweke | bədlā sədʰāweke | bədlā sədʰāweko | bədlā sədʰāweke | bədlā sədʰāweke | Revenge |
| 68. | mokədmā | mokədmā | mokədmā | mokədmā | mokədmā | mokədmā | File a case |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | kəreke | kəreke | kəreke | kəreko | kəreke | kəreke | |
| 69. | sosəN kəreke | sosəN kəreke | sosəN kəreke | sosəN kəreko | sosəN kəreke | sosəN kəreke | Exploit |
| 70. | kərjā səd$^{h}$āweke | kərjā səd$^{h}$āweke | kərjā səd$^{h}$āweke | kərjā səd$^{h}$āweko | kərjā səd$^{h}$āweke | kərjā səd$^{h}$āweke | Pay debt |
| 71. | b$^{h}$ə̃jāweke | b$^{h}$ə̃jāweke | b$^{h}$ə̃jāweke | b$^{h}$ə̃jāweko | b$^{h}$ə̃jāweke | b$^{h}$ə̃jāweke | Exchange |
| 72. | lenden kəreke | lenden kəreke | lenden kəreke | lenden kəreko | lenden kəreke | lenden kəreke | Lend |
| 73. | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreko | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreke | Trade |
| 74. | jok$^{h}$eke/ təuleke | jok$^{h}$eke/ təuleke | jok$^{h}$eke/ təuleke | jok$^{h}$eko/ təuleko | jok$^{h}$eke/ təuleke | jok$^{h}$eke/ təuleke | Weigh |
| 75. | molāweke | molāweke | molāweke | molāweko | molāweke | molāweke | Bargain |

Language & Thought : Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | b$^{h}$āsā | b$^{h}$āsā | b$^{h}$āsā | b$^{h}$āsā | b$^{h}$āsā | b$^{h}$āsā | Language |
| 2. | bolī̃ | bolī̃ | bolī̃ | bolī̃ | bolī̃ | bolī̃ | Dialect |
| 3. | səbd | səbd | səbd | səbd | səbd | səbd | Word |
| 4. | wākyə | wākyə | wākyə | wākyə | wākyə | wākyə | Sentence |
| 5. | cinh | cinh | cinh | cinh | cinh | cinh | Symbol |
| 6. | b$^{h}$āsəN | b$^{h}$āsəN | b$^{h}$āsəN | b$^{h}$āsəN | b$^{h}$āsəN | b$^{h}$āsəN | Speech |
| 7. | gī̃t | gī̃t | gī̃t | gī̃t | gī̃t | gī̃t | Song |
| 8. | səŋgī̃t | səŋgī̃t | səŋgī̃t | səŋgī̃t | səŋgī̃t | səŋgī̃t | Music |
| 9. | nāc | nāc | nāc | nāc | nāc | nāc | Dance |
| 10. | nāTək | nāTək | nāTək | nāTək | nāTək | nāTək | Drama |
| 11. | k$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$el | Game |
| 12. | kət$^{h}$ā | kət$^{h}$ā | kət$^{h}$ā | kət$^{h}$ā | kət$^{h}$ā | kət$^{h}$ā | Story/tale |
| 13. | sāc | sāc | sāc | sāc | sāc | sāc | Truth |
| 14. | j$^{h}$ūT$^{h}$ | j$^{h}$ūT$^{h}$ | j$^{h}$ūT$^{h}$ | j$^{h}$ūT$^{h}$ | j$^{h}$ūT$^{h}$ | j$^{h}$ūT$^{h}$ | Lie |
| 15. | mohəbrā | mohəbrā | mohəbrā | mohəbrā | mohəbrā | mohəbrā | Proverb |
| 16. | buj$^{h}$əuəl | buj$^{h}$əuəl | buj$^{h}$əuəl | buj$^{h}$əuəl | buj$^{h}$əuəl | buj$^{h}$əuəl | Query rhyme |
| 17. | bāt bicār | bāt bicār | bāt bicār | bāt bicār | bāt bicār | bāt bicār | Consultation |
| 18. | b$^{h}$ūl | b$^{h}$ūl | b$^{h}$ūl | b$^{h}$ūl | b$^{h}$ūl | b$^{h}$ūl | Error |
| 19. | də̃tkət$^{h}$ā | də̃tkət$^{h}$ā | də̃tkət$^{h}$ā | də̃tkət$^{h}$ā | də̃tkət$^{h}$ā | də̃tkət$^{h}$ā | Oral tale |
| 20. | iyād | iyād | iyād | iyād | iyād | iyād | Memory |

Language & Thought : Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | b$^{h}$ulaeke | b$^{h}$ulaeke | b$^{h}$ulaeke | b$^{h}$ulaeko | b$^{h}$ulaeke | b$^{h}$ulaeke | Forget |
| 2. | j$^{h}$əgRā kəreke | j$^{h}$əgRā kəreke | j$^{h}$əgRā kəreke | j$^{h}$əgRā kəreko | j$^{h}$əgRā kəreke | j$^{h}$əgRā kəreke | Quarrel |
| 3. | dek$^{h}$eke | dek$^{h}$eke | dek$^{h}$eke | dek$^{h}$eko | dek$^{h}$eke | dek$^{h}$eke | See |
| 4. | dek$^{h}$aweke | dek$^{h}$aweke | dek$^{h}$aweke | dek$^{h}$aweko | dek$^{h}$aweke | dek$^{h}$aweke | Show |
| 5. | hereke | hereke | hereke | hereko | hereke | hereke | Look |
| 6. | tulnā kəreke | tulnā kəreke | tulnā kəreke | tulnā kəreko | tulnā kəreke | tulnā kəreke | Compare |
| 7. | oisəne hok$^{h}$eke | oisəne hok$^{h}$eke | oisəne hok$^{h}$eke | oisəne hok$^{h}$eko | oisəne hok$^{h}$eke | oisəne hok$^{h}$eke | Resemble |
| 8. | jāneke | jāneke | jāneke | jāneko | jāneke | jāneke | Know |
| 9. | kəlpənā kəreke | kəlpənā kəreke | kəlpənā kəreke | kəlpənā kəreko | kəlpənā kəreke | kəlpənā kəreke | Imagine |
| 10. | jā̃ceke | jā̃ceke | jā̃ceke | jā̃ceko | jā̃ceke | jā̃ceke | Check |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | gunā kəreke | gunā kəreke | gunā kəreke | gunā kəreko | gunā kəreke | gunā kəreke | Multiply |
| 12. | bʰāg kəreke | bʰāg kəreke | bʰāg kəreke | bʰāg kəreko | bʰāg kəreke | bʰāg kəreke | Divide |
| 13. | joReke | joReke | joReke | joReko | joReke | joReke | Add |
| 14. | gʰəTaweke | gʰəTaweke | gʰəTaweke | gʰəTaweko | gʰəTaweke | gʰəTaweke | Subtract |
| 15. | hisāb kəreke | hisāb kəreke | hisāb kəreke | hisāb kəreko | hisāb kəreke | hisāb kəreke | Calculate |
| 16. | rəceke | rəceke | rəceke | rəceko | rəceke | rəceke | Compose |
| 17. | kʰĩceke | kʰĩceke | kʰĩceke | kʰĩceko | kʰĩceke | kʰĩceke | Draw |
| 18. | meTaweke | meTaweke | meTaweke | meTaweko | meTaweke | meTaweke | Erase |
| 19. | ənuwād kəreke | ənuwād kəreke | ənuwād kəreke | ənuwād kəreko | ənuwād kəreke | ənuwād kəreke | Translate |
| 20. | byakʰyā kəreke | byakʰyā kəreke | byakʰyā kəreke | byakʰyā kəreko | byakʰyā kəreke | byakʰyā kəreke | Explain |

Belief & Thought : Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ləkcʰmipuj ā, dewārĩ | ləkcʰmipuj ā, dewārĩ | ləkcʰmipujā , dewārĩ | ləkcʰmipuj ā, dewārĩ | ləkcʰmipujā , dewārĩ | ləkcʰmipuj ā, dewārĩ | Worship of Goddess Laxmi, Illumination |
| 2. | gobərdʰən pujā, dohrəiā | gobərdʰən pujā, dohrəiā | gobərdʰən pujā, dohrəiā | gobərdʰən pujā, dohrəiā | gobərdʰən pujā, dohrəiā | gobərdʰən pujā, dohrəiā | Worship of Dunghill |
| 3. | tilasəkrāt | tilasəkrāt | tilasəkrāt | tilasəkrāt | tilasəkrāt | tilasəkrāt | 1st day of Hindu month of Magh |
| 4. | sirpəcəĩ | sirpəcəĩ | sirpəcəĩ | sirpəcəĩ | sirpəcəĩ | sirpəcəĩ | Hindu Spring Celebration on fifth of bright fortnight of Magh |
| 5. | sərəswətĩ pujā | sərəswətĩ pujā | sərəswətĩ pujā | sərəswətĩ pujā | sərəswətĩ pujā | sərəswətĩ pujā | Worship of Saraswati, goddess of Wisdom |
| 6. | siwərāt | siwərāt | siwərāt | siwərāt | siwərāt | siwərāt | Fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Hindu month of Fagun |
| 7. | pʰəguā | pʰəguā | pʰəguā | pʰəguā | pʰəguā | pʰəguā | Holi, festival of colour |
| 8. | horĩ | horĩ | horĩ | horĩ | horĩ | horĩ | Holi and the songs sung on the occasion |
| 9. | bəlidān | bəlidān | bəlidān | kurbānĩ | bəlidān | bəlidān | Sacrifice |
| 10. | bʰutpret | bʰutpret | bʰutpret | bʰutpret | bʰutpret | bʰutpret | Ghost |
| 11. | bʰəgtā | bʰəgtā | bʰəgtā | bʰəgtā | bʰəgtā | bʰəgtā | Healer |
| 12. | Dain | Dain | Dain | Dain | Dain | Dain | Witch |
| 13. | dʰərm | dʰərm | dʰərm | dʰərm | dʰərm | dʰərm | Religion |
| 14. | kərm | kərm | kərm | kərm | kərm | kərm | Work, duty |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | bʰāgyə/ bʰāg | bʰāgyə/ bʰāg | bʰāgyə/ bʰāg | bʰāgyə/ bʰāg | bʰāgyə/ bʰāg | bʰāgyə/ bʰāg | Luck, fortune |
| 16. | əbʰāg | əbʰāg | əbʰāg | əbʰāg | əbʰāg | əbʰāg | Misfortune |
| 17. | swərg | swərg | swərg | jənnət | swərg | swərg | Heaven |
| 18. | nərək | nərək | nərək | dojək | nərək | nərək | Hell |
| 19. | rakcʰəs | rakcʰəs | rakcʰəs | səetān | rakcʰəs | rakcʰəs | Monster |
| 20. | debĩ | debĩ | debĩ | debĩ | debĩ | debĩ | Goddess |
| 21. | gārĩ | gārĩ | gārĩ | gārĩ | gārĩ | gārĩ | Abuse |
| 22. | bəRāĩ | bəRāĩ | bəRāĩ | bəRāĩ | bəRāĩ | bəRāĩ | Praise |
| 23. | pəcʰtāwā | pəcʰtāwā | pəcʰtāwā | pəcʰtāwā | pəcʰtāwā | pəcʰtāwā | Repent |
| 24. | sətsəŋg | sətsəŋg | sətsəŋg | səŋhət | sətsəŋg | sətsəŋg | Pious company |
| 25. | brət | brət | brət | rojā | brət | brət | Fasting |
| 26. | səpnā | səpnā | səpnā | səpnā | səpnā | səpnā | Dream |
| 27. | dān | dān | dān | kʰəerāt | dān | dān | Donation |
| 28. | bʰəwisyəbā Nĩ | bʰəwisyəbā Nĩ | bʰəwisyəbā Nĩ | bʰəwisyəbā Nĩ | bʰəwisyəbā Nĩ | bʰəwisyəbā Nĩ | Prediction |
| 29. | sərāp | sərāp | sərāp | sərāp | sərāp | sərāp | Curse |
| 30. | dərsənbʰẽT | dərsənbʰẽT | dərsənbʰẽT | bʰẽT | dərsənbʰẽT | dərsənbʰẽT | Grant/receive audience |
| 31. | hinãĩ | hinãĩ | hinãĩ | burãĩ | hinãĩ | hinãĩ | Reproach |
| 32. | cərcā | cərcā | cərcā | cərcā | cərcā | cərcā | Remark, Talk |
| 33. | cuŋləlĩ | cuŋləlĩ | cuŋləlĩ | cuŋləlĩ | cuŋləlĩ | cuŋləlĩ | Backbiting |
| 34. | cākərĩ | cākərĩ | cākərĩ | cākərĩ | cākərĩ | cākərĩ | Attendance |
| 35. | cāplusĩ | cāplusĩ | cāplusĩ | cāplusĩ | cāplusĩ | cāplusĩ | Flattering |
| 36. | sewā | sewā | sewā | sewā | sewā | sewā | Nursing |
| 37. | birtā | birtā | birtā | birtā | birtā | birtā | Bravery |
| 38. | gʰirnā | gʰirnā | gʰirnā | gʰin | gʰirnā | gʰirnā | Hate |
| 39. | sog | sog | sog | sog | sog | sog | Grief |
| 40. | bātʰā | bātʰā | bātʰā | bātʰā | bātʰā | bātʰā | Pain |

Language & Thought : Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | biswasu | biswasu | biswasu | biswasu | biswasu | biswasu | Faithful |
| 2. | sukʰĩ | sukʰĩ | sukʰĩ | sukʰĩ | sukʰĩ | sukʰĩ | Happy |
| 3. | dukʰĩ | dukʰĩ | dukʰĩ | dukʰĩ | dukʰĩ | dukʰĩ | Sad |
| 4. | premĩ | premĩ | premĩ | premĩ | premĩ | premĩ | Lover |
| 5. | maydār | maydār | maydār | dildār | maydār | maydār | Lovable |
| 6. | Dāhĩ | Dāhĩ | Dāhĩ | Dāhĩ | Dāhĩ | Dāhĩ | Envious |
| 7. | gʰəmənDĩ | gʰəmənDĩ | gʰəmənDĩ | gʰəmənDĩ | gʰəmənDĩ | gʰəmənDĩ | Proud |
| 8. | əgəRiā | əgəRiā | əgəRiā | əgəRiā | əgəRiā | əgəRiā | Leader/guide |
| 9. | udār | udār | udār | udār | udār | udār | Liberal |
| 10. | lobʰĩ | lobʰĩ | lobʰĩ | lobʰĩ | lobʰĩ | lobʰĩ | Greedy |
| 11. | hətyārā | hətyārā | hətyārā | hətyārā | hətyārā | hətyārā | Murderer |
| 12. | cor | cor | cor | cor | cor | cor | Thief |
| 13. | pāpĩ | pāpĩ | pāpĩ | pāpĩ | pāpĩ | pāpĩ | Sinner |
| 14. | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | dosĩ | Culprit |
| 15. | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | nirdos | Innocent |
| 16. | ələokik | ələokik | ələokik | ələokik | ələokik | ələokik | Supernatural |
| 17. | ātmiye | ātmiye | ātmiye | ātmiye | ātmiye | ātmiye | Intimate |
| 18. | pujārĩ | pujārĩ | pujārĩ | pujārĩ | pujārĩ | pujārĩ | Priest |
| 19. | prartʰĩ | prartʰĩ | prartʰĩ | ərjĩ kərewālā | prartʰĩ | prartʰĩ | Petitioner |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | tāgād$^{h}$ārī̃ | tāgād$^{h}$ārī̃ | tāgād$^{h}$ārī̃ | tāgād$^{h}$ārī̃ | tāgād$^{h}$ārī̃ | tāgād$^{h}$ārī̃ | Thread wearer |
| 21. | p$^{h}$əgunəhəT | p$^{h}$əgunəhə T | p$^{h}$əgunəhəT | p$^{h}$əgunəhə T | p$^{h}$əgunəhəT | p$^{h}$əgunəhə T | Westerly wind in Hindu month of Fagun |
| 22. | b$^{h}$utāh | b$^{h}$utāh | b$^{h}$utāh | b$^{h}$utāh | b$^{h}$utāh | b$^{h}$utāh | Demonic |
| 23. | nəkābd$^{h}$ārī̃ | nəkābd$^{h}$ārī̃ | nəkābd$^{h}$ārī̃ | nəkābd$^{h}$ārī̃ | nəkābd$^{h}$ārī̃ | nəkābd$^{h}$ārī̃ | Masked |
| 24. | b$^{h}$utəhər | b$^{h}$utəhər | b$^{h}$utəhər | b$^{h}$utəhər | b$^{h}$utəhər | b$^{h}$utəhər | Dominick |
| 25. | d$^{h}$ərmātmā | d$^{h}$ərmātmā | d$^{h}$ərmātmā | d$^{h}$ərmātmā | d$^{h}$ərmātmā | d$^{h}$ərmātmā | Pious |
| 26. | d$^{h}$ārmik | d$^{h}$ārmik | d$^{h}$ārmik | d$^{h}$ārmik | d$^{h}$ārmik | d$^{h}$ārmik | Religious |
| 27. | kərməyogī̃ | kərməyogī̃ | kərməyogī̃ | kərməyogī̃ | kərməyogī̃ | kərməyogī̃ | Deed-ascetic |
| 28. | əb$^{h}$āgī̃ | əb$^{h}$āgī̃ | əb$^{h}$āgī̃ | əb$^{h}$āgī̃ | əb$^{h}$āgī̃ | əb$^{h}$āgī̃ | Unlucky |
| 29. | b$^{h}$āgyəmānī̃ | b$^{h}$āgyəmānī̃ | b$^{h}$āgyəmānī̃ | b$^{h}$āgyəmānī̃ | b$^{h}$āgyəmānī̃ | b$^{h}$āgyəmānī̃ | Lucky |
| 30. | swərgī̃ye | swərgī̃ye | swərgī̃ye | məhrum | swərgī̃ye | swərgī̃ye | Late/ Heavenly |
| 31. | rākc$^{h}$əsī̃ | rākc$^{h}$əsī̃ | rākc$^{h}$əsī̃ | rākc$^{h}$əsī̃ | rākc$^{h}$əsī̃ | rākc$^{h}$əsī̃ | Monstrous |
| 32. | gəriəunihār | gəriəunihār | gəriəunihār | gəriəunihār | gəriəunihār | gəriəunihār | Abuser |
| 33. | stūti kərewālā | stūti kərewālā | stūti kərewālā | nəmājī̃ | stūti kərewālā | stūti kərewālā | Eulogist |
| 34. | hināī̃ kərewālā | hināī̃ kərewālā | hināī̃ kərewālā | hināī̃ kərewālā | hināī̃ kərewālā | hināī̃ kərewālā | Censor |
| 35. | nindənī̃ye | nindənī̃ye | nindənī̃ye | g$^{h}$inəonā | nindənī̃ye | nindənī̃ye | Censurable |
| 36. | bədk$^{h}$əī̃ kərewālā | bədk$^{h}$əī̃ kərewālā | bədk$^{h}$əī̃ kərewālā | bədk$^{h}$əī̃ kərewālā | bədk$^{h}$əī̃ kərewālā | bədk$^{h}$əī̃ kərewālā | Backbiter |
| 37. | cuŋgəlk$^{h}$or | cuŋgəlk$^{h}$or | cuŋgəlk$^{h}$or | cuŋgəlk$^{h}$or | cuŋgəlk$^{h}$or | cuŋgəlk$^{h}$or | Backbiter |
| 38. | cākəribāj | cākəribāj | cākəribāj | cākəribāj | cākəribāj | cākəribāj | Flatterer |
| 39. | cāplūs | cāplūs | cāplūs | cāplūs | cāplūs | cāplūs | Adulator |
| 40. | nokər | nokər | nokər | nokər | nokər | nokər | Servant |

Belief & Thought : Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | biswās kəreke | biswās kəreke | biswās kəreke | biswās kəreko | biswās kəreke | biswās kəreke | Believe |
| 2. | k$^{h}$us hoeke | k$^{h}$us hoeke | k$^{h}$us hoeke | k$^{h}$us hoeko | k$^{h}$us hoeke | k$^{h}$us hoeke | Please |
| 3. | suk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | suk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | suk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | suk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeko | suk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | suk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | Delight |
| 4. | duk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | duk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | duk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | duk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeko | duk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | duk$^{h}$ī̃ hoeke | Be sorry |
| 5. | g$^{h}$əbRaeke | g$^{h}$əbRaeke | g$^{h}$əbRaeke | g$^{h}$əbRaeko | g$^{h}$əbRaeke | g$^{h}$əbRaeke | Be startled |
| 6. | k$^{h}$isiaeke | k$^{h}$isiaeke | k$^{h}$isiaeke | gussā hoeko | k$^{h}$isiaeke | k$^{h}$isiaeke | Be angry |
| 7. | rəmaeke | rəmaeke | rəmaeke | məuj kəreko | rəmaeke | rəmaeke | Amuse |
| 8. | muskaeke | muskaeke | muskaeke | muskaeko | muskaeke | muskaeke | Smile |
| 9. | hə̃seke | hə̃seke | hə̃seke | hə̃seko | hə̃seke | hə̃seke | Laugh |
| 10. | ās kəreke | ās kəreke | ās kəreke | ās kəreko | ās kəreke | ās kəreke | Hope |
| 11. | ās məreke | ās məreke | ās məreke | ās məreko | ās məreke | ās məreke | Despond |
| 12. | pəsən kəreke | pəsən kəreke | pəsən kəreke | pəsən kəreko | pəsən kəreke | pəsən kəreke | Like/choice |
| 13. | cāheke | cāheke | cāheke | cāheko | cāheke | cāheke | Wish |
| 14. | suskārī̃ pāreke | suskārī̃ pāreke | suskārī̃ pāreke | suskārī̃ pāreko | suskārī̃ pāreke | suskārī̃ pāreke | Whistle |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | nirās hoeke | nirās hoeke | nirās hoeke | nirās hoeko | nirās hoeke | nirās hoeke | Despond |
| 16. | roeke | roeke | roeke | roeko | roeke | roeke | Weep |
| 17. | cintā kəreke | cintā kəreke | cintā kəreke | pʰikrə kəreko | cintā kəreke | cintā kəreke | Reckon |
| 18. | Deraweke | Deraweke | Deraweke | Deraweko | Deraweke | Deraweke | Frighten |
| 19. | Deraeke | Deraeke | Deraeke | Deraeko | Deraeke | Deraeke | Fear |
| 20. | cəkit kəreke | cəkit kəreke | cəkit kəreke | cʰəkit kəreko | cəkit kəreke | cəkit kəreke | Astonish |
| 21. | dil bəhlaweke | dil bəhlaweke | dil bəhlaweke | dil bəhlaweko | dil bəhlaweke | dil bəhlaweke | Entertain |
| 22. | məuj kəreke | məuj kəreke | məuj kəreke | məuj kəreko | məuj kəreke | məuj kəreke | Amuse |
| 23. | TʰāTʰā kəreke | TʰāTʰā kəreke | TʰāTʰā kəreke | TʰāTʰā kəreko | TʰāTʰā kəreke | TʰāTʰā kəreke | Joke |
| 24. | suskeke | suskeke | suskeke | suskeko | suskeke | suskeke | Sob |
| 25. | gʰəmənD kəreke | gʰəmənD kəreke | gʰəmənD kəreke | gʰəmənD kəreko | gʰəmənD kəreke | gʰəmənD kəreke | Pride |
| 26. | mohaeke | mohaeke | mohaeke | mohaeko | mohaeke | mohaeke | Be enamored |
| 27. | moheke | moheke | moheke | moheko | moheke | moheke | Enamor |
| 28. | dukʰ maneke | dukʰ maneke | dukʰ maneke | dukʰ maneko | dukʰ maneke | dukʰ maneke | Be sad |
| 29. | wāstā nə kəreke | wāstā nə kəreke | wāstā nə kəreke | wāstā nə kəreko | wāstā nə kəreke | wāstā nə kəreke | Ignore |
| 30. | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreko | beijət kəreke | beijət kəreke | Insult |
| 31. | gʰirnā kəreke | gʰirnā kəreke | gʰirnā kəreke | gʰirnā kəreko | gʰirnā kəreke | gʰirnā kəreke | Hate |
| 32. | kuəteke | kuəteke | kuəteke | kuəteko | kuəteke | kuəteke | Contempt |
| 33. | gābʰī cəlaweke | gābʰī cəlaweke | gābʰī cəlaweke | gābʰī cəlaweko | gābʰī cəlaweke | gābʰī cəlaweke | Vex |
| 34. | hāsī ləgaweke | hāsī ləgaweke | hāsī ləgaweke | hāsī ləgaweko | hāsī ləgaweke | hāsī ləgaweke | Jest |
| 35. | prem kəreke | prem kəreke | prem kəreke | prem kəreko | prem kəreke | prem kəreke | Love |
| 36. | bilāp kəreke | bilāp kəreke | bilāp kəreke | bilāp kəreko | bilāp kəreke | bilāp kəreke | Lament |
| 37. | dəyā kəreke | dəyā kəreke | dəyā kəreke | dəyā kəreko | dəyā kəreke | dəyā kəreke | Pity |
| 38. | dəyā dekʰaweke | dəyā dekʰaweke | dəyā dekʰaweke | dəyā dekʰaweko | dəyā dekʰaweke | dəyā dekʰaweke | Commiserate |
| 39. | dʰokʰā deweke | dʰokʰā deweke | dʰokʰā deweke | dʰokʰā deweko | dʰokʰā deweke | dʰokʰā deweke | Deceive |
| 40. | kəhũcawek e | kəhũcawek e | kəhũcawek e | kəhũcawek o | kəhũcawek e | kəhũcawek e | Tease |

Wealth & Property : Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | dʰən | dʰən | dʰən | dʰən | dʰən | dʰən | Wealth |
| 2. | səmpətti | səmpətti | səmpətti | səmpətti | səmpətti | səmpətti | Property |
| 3. | ropeyā | ropeyā | ropeyā | ropeyā | ropeyā | ropeyā | Rupee |
| 4. | pəisā | pəisā | pəisā | pəisā | pəisā | pəisā | Hundredth part of a rupee |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | cəl səmpatti | cəl səmpatti | cəl səmpatti | cəl səmpatti | cəl səmpatti | cəl səmpatti | Current asset |
| 6. | əcəl səmpatti | əcəl səmpatti | əcəl səmpatti | əcəl səmpatti | əcəl səmpatti | əcəl səmpatti | Fixed asset |
| 7. | kʰātā | kʰātā | kʰātā | kʰātā | kʰātā | kʰātā | Account |
| 8. | kʰəjānā | kʰəjānā | kʰəjānā | kʰəjānā | kʰəjānā | kʰəjānā | Treasure |
| 9. | sonā | sonā | sonā | sonā | sonā | sonā | Gold |
| 10. | cānī̃ | cānī̃ | cānī̃ | cānī̃ | cānī̃ | cānī̃ | Silver |
| 11. | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | Copper |
| 12. | pī̃tər | pī̃tər | pī̃tər | pī̃tər | pī̃tər | pī̃tər | Brass |
| 13. | kãs | kãs | kãs | kãs | kãs | kãs | Bronze |
| 14. | lohā | lohā | lohā | lohā | lohā | lohā | Iron |
| 15. | sTī̃l | sTī̃l | sTī̃l | sTī̃l | sTī̃l | sTī̃l | Steel |
| 16. | hī̃rā | hī̃rā | hī̃rā | hī̃rā | hī̃rā | hī̃rā | Diamond |
| 17. | motī̃ | motī̃ | motī̃ | motī̃ | motī̃ | motī̃ | Pearl |
| 18. | jəmī̃n | jəmī̃n | jəmī̃n | jəmī̃n | jəmī̃n | jəmī̃n | Land |
| 19. | gʰəRārī̃ | gʰəRārī̃ | gʰəRārī̃ | gʰəRārī̃ | gʰəRārī̃ | gʰəRārī̃ | Plot for housing |
| 20. | udyog | udyog | udyog | udyog | udyog | udyog | Industry |
| 21. | bepār | bepār | bepār | bepār | bepār | bepār | Business |
| 22. | dokān | dokān | dokān | dokān | dokān | dokān | Shop |
| 23. | səŋgol səmpətti | səŋgol səmpətti | səŋgol səmpətti | səŋgol səmpətti | səŋgol səmpətti | səŋgol səmpətti | Joint property |
| 24. | bī̃mā | bī̃mā | bī̃mā | bī̃mā | bī̃mā | bī̃mā | Insurance |
| 25. | əns/hĩsā | əns/hĩsā | əns/hĩsā | əns/hĩsā | əns/hĩsā | əns/hĩsā | Share |

Wealth & Property : Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | səmpətisālī̃ | səmpətisālī̃ | səmpətisālī̃ | səmpətisālī̃ | səmpətisālī̃ | səmpətisālī̃ | Wealthy |
| 2. | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | dʰənik | Rich |
| 3. | ropeyāwālā | ropeyāwālā | ropeyāwālā | ropeyāwālā | ropeyāwālā | ropeyāwālā | Tycoon |
| 4. | pəisāwālā | pəisāwālā | pəisāwālā | pəisāwālā | pəisāwālā | pəisāwālā | Money holder |
| 5. | kʰātāwālā | kʰātāwālā | kʰātāwālā | kʰātāwālā | kʰātāwālā | kʰātāwālā | Account holder |
| 6. | sāw/ məhājən | sāw/ məhājən | sāw/ məhājən | sāw/ məhājən | sāw/ məhājən | sāw/ məhājən | Money holder |
| 7. | jəmī̃ndār | jəmī̃ndār | jəmī̃ndār | jəmī̃ndār | jəmī̃ndār | jəmī̃ndār | Land-lord |
| 8. | jəmī̃n mālik | jəmī̃n mālik | jəmī̃n mālik | jəmī̃n mālik | jəmī̃n mālik | jəmī̃n mālik | Land-owner |
| 9. | gʰər mālik | gʰər mālik | gʰər mālik | gʰər mālik | gʰər mālik | gʰər mālik | House-owner |
| 10. | udyogpətti | udyogpətti | udyogpətti | udyogpətti | udyogpətti | udyogpətti | Industrialist |
| 11. | bepārī̃ | bepārī̃ | bepārī̃ | bepārī̃ | bepārī̃ | bepārī̃ | Businessman |
| 12. | dokāndār | dokāndār | dokāndār | dokāndār | dokāndār | dokāndār | Shopkeeper |
| 13. | ərjəl | ərjəl | ərjəl | ərjā | ərjəl | ərjəl | Earned |
| 14. | bābādādā ke | bābādādā ke | bābādādā ke | bābādādā ke | bābādādā ke | bābādādā ke | Ancestral |
| 15. | bəpəutī̃ | bəpəutī̃ | bəpəutī̃ | bəpəutī̃ | bəpəutī̃ | bəpəutī̃ | Parental |
| 16. | pʰãTəl | pʰãTəl | pʰãTəl | pʰãTā | pʰãTəl | pʰãTəl | Shared |
| 17. | seərdār | seərdār | seərdār | seərdār | seərdār | seərdār | Share-holder |
| 18. | dʰərwəTī̃ | dʰərwəTī̃ | dʰərwəTī̃ | dʰərwəTī̃ | dʰərwəTī̃ | dʰərwəTī̃ | Deposit |
| 19. | udʰār | udʰār | udʰār | udʰār | udʰār | udʰār | Credit |
| 20. | pəĩcā | pəĩcā | pəĩcā | pəĩcā | pəĩcā | pəĩcā | Borrowed |

Wealth & Property : Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kəmaeke | kəmaeke | kəmaeke | kəmaeko | kəmaeke | kəmaeke | Earn |
| 2. | ərjeke | ərjeke | ərjeke | ərjeko | ərjeke | ərjeke | Acquire |
| 3. | joReke | joReke | joReke | joReko | joReke | joReke | Collect |
| 4. | kʰātā kʰoleke | kʰātā kʰoleke | kʰātā kʰoleke | kʰātā kʰoleko | kʰātā kʰoleke | kʰātā kʰoleke | Open account |
| 5. | jəmā kəreke | jəmā kəreke | jəmā kəreke | jəmā kəreko | jəmā kəreke | jəmā kəreke | Deposit |
| 6. | dokān kʰoleke | dokān kʰoleke | dokān kʰoleke | dokān kʰoleko | dokān kʰoleke | dokān kʰoleke | Open a shop |
| 7. | udyog kəreke | udyog kəreke | udyog kəreke | udyog kəreko | udyog kəreke | udyog kəreke | Endeavor |
| 8. | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreko | bepār kəreke | bepār kəreke | Trade |
| 9. | gʰəRārĩ kineke | gʰəRārĩ kineke | gʰəRārĩ kineke | gʰəRārĩ kineko | gʰəRārĩ kineke | gʰəRārĩ kineke | Buy a plot for housing |
| 10. | jorcet kəreke | jorcet kəreke | jorcet kəreke | jorcet kəreko | jorcet kəreke | jorcet kəreke | Earn livelihood |
| 11. | bəndobəst kəreke | bəndobəst kəreke | bəndobəst kəreke | bəndobəst kəreko | bəndobəst kəreke | bəndobəst kəreke | Manage |
| 12. | joheke | joheke | joheke | joheko | joheke | joheke | Expect |
| 13. | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweko | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweke | Save |
| 14. | bəkʰərā kəreke | bəkʰərā kəreke | bəkʰərā kəreke | bəkʰərā kəreko | bəkʰərā kəreke | bəkʰərā kəreke | Share |
| 15. | əns me aweke | əns me aweke | əns me aweke | əns me aweko | əns me aweke | əns me aweke | Be shared |
| 16. | dʰərwəTĩ dʰəreke | dʰərwəTĩ dʰəreke | dʰərwəTĩ dʰəreke | dʰərwəTĩ dʰəreko | dʰərwəTĩ dʰəreke | dʰərwəTĩ dʰəreke | Deposit |
| 17. | udʰār leweke | udʰār leweke | udʰār leweke | udʰār leweko | udʰār leweke | udʰār leweke | Borrow |
| 18. | udʰār deweke | udʰār deweke | udʰār deweke | udʰār deweko | udʰār deweke | udʰār deweke | Lend |
| 19. | pəĩcā leweke | pəĩcā leweke | pəĩcā leweke | pəĩcā leweko | pəĩcā leweke | pəĩcā leweke | Borrow |
| 20. | bĩmā kəreke | bĩmā kəreke | bĩmā kəreke | bĩmā kəreko | bĩmā kəreke | bĩmā kəreke | Insurance |

Human Organs : Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | deh | deh | deh | sərĩr | deh | deh | Body |
| 2. | lehū/kʰūn | lehū/kʰūn | lehū/kʰūn | lehū/kʰūn | lehū/kʰūn | lehū/kʰūn | Blood |
| 3. | nəs | nəs | nəs | nəs | nəs | nəs | Nerve |
| 4. | hāR | hāR | hāR | hāR | hāR | hāR | Bone |
| 5. | kurkure hāR | kurkure hāR | kurkure hāR | kurkure hāR | kurkure hāR | kurkure hāR | Cartilage |
| 6. | cəmRā | cəmRā | cəmRā | cəmRā | cəmRā | cəmRā | Skin |
| 7. | mã̄s | mã̄s | mã̄s | gost | mã̄s | mã̄s | Flesh |
| 8. | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | Fat |
| 9. | ã̄kʰ | ã̄kʰ | ã̄kʰ | ã̄kʰ | ã̄kʰ | ã̄kʰ | Eye |
| 10. | bʰəõ | bʰəõ | bʰəõ | bʰəõ | bʰəõ | bʰəõ | Brow |
| 11. | dārhĩ | dārhĩ | dārhĩ | dārhĩ | dārhĩ | dārhĩ | Beard |
| 12. | pəpnĩ | pəpnĩ | pəpnĩ | pəpnĩ | pəpnĩ | pəpnĩ | Eye-lash |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | moc$^{h}$ | moc$^{h}$ | moc$^{h}$ | moc$^{h}$ | moc$^{h}$ | moc$^{h}$ | Moustache |
| 14. | k$^{h}$õpRĩ | k$^{h}$õpRĩ | k$^{h}$õpRĩ | k$^{h}$õpRĩ | k$^{h}$õpRĩ | k$^{h}$õpRĩ | Skull |
| 15. | mūR/sir | mūR/sir | mūR/sir | mūR/sir | mūR/sir | mūR/sir | Head |
| 16. | lewāRĩ | lewāRĩ | lewāRĩ | lewāRĩ | lewāRĩ | lewāRĩ | Back of the skull |
| 17. | cān | cān | cān | cānĩ | cān | cān | Front of the skull |
| 18. | kes | kes | kes | kes | kes | kes | Hair |
| 19. | Tik | Tik | Tik | Tik | Tik | Tik | Arial |
| 20. | coTĩ | coTĩ | coTĩ | coTĩ | coTĩ | coTĩ | Braid |
| 21. | māŋ | māŋ | māŋ | māŋ | māŋ | māŋ | The line left by parting the hair on the head |
| 22. | məgəj | məgəj | məgəj | məgəj | məgəj | məgəj | Brain |
| 23. | kəncəT | kəncə T | kəncəT | kəncəT | kəncəT | kəncəT | Temple |
| 24. | tārū | tārū | tārū | tārū | tārū | tārū | Palate |
| 25. | kəpār | kəpār | kəpār | kəpār | kəpār | kəpār | Forehead |
| 26. | gər | gər | gər | gərdən | gər | gər | Throat |
| 27. | g$^{h}$ẽT | g$^{h}$ẽT | g$^{h}$ẽT | g$^{h}$ẽT | g$^{h}$ẽT | g$^{h}$ẽT | Neck |
| 28. | cəoh | cəoh | cəoh | cəoh | cəoh | cəoh | Jaw |
| 29. | nāk | nāk | nāk | nāk | nāk | nāk | Nose |
| 30. | nāk ke por | nāk ke por | nāk ke por | nāk ke purā | nāk ke por | nāk ke por | Nostril |
| 31. | mūh | mūh | mūh | mūh | mūh | mūh | Mouth |
| 32. | oT$^{h}$ | oT$^{h}$ | oT$^{h}$ | oT$^{h}$ | oT$^{h}$ | oT$^{h}$ | Lip |
| 33. | jĩb$^{h}$ | jĩb$^{h}$ | jĩb$^{h}$ | jubān | jĩb$^{h}$ | jĩb$^{h}$ | Tongue |
| 34. | dãt | dãt | dãt | dãt | dãt | dãt | Tooth |
| 35. | ləbləbĩ | ləbləbĩ | ləbləbĩ | ləbləbĩ | ləbləbĩ | ləbləbĩ | Uvula |
| 36. | kān | kān | kān | kān | kān | kān | Ear |
| 37. | rudrəg$^{h}$ənTĩ | rudrəg$^{h}$ənTĩ | rudrəg$^{h}$ənTĩ | rudrəg$^{h}$ənTĩ | rudrəg$^{h}$ənTĩ | rudrəg$^{h}$ənTĩ | Larynx |
| 38. | sə̃sərĩ | sə̃sərĩ | sə̃sərĩ | sə̃sərĩ | sə̃sərĩ | sə̃sərĩ | Trachea |
| 39. | kānh | kānh | kānh | kānh | kānh | kānh | Shoulder |
| 40. | kehunĩ | kehunĩ | kehunĩ | kehunĩ | kehunĩ | kehunĩ | Elbow |
| 41. | pĩT$^{h}$ | pĩT$^{h}$ | pĩT$^{h}$ | pĩT$^{h}$ | pĩT$^{h}$ | pĩT$^{h}$ | Back |
| 42. | rĩR$^{h}$ | rĩR$^{h}$ | rĩR$^{h}$ | rĩR$^{h}$ | rĩR$^{h}$ | rĩR$^{h}$ | Backbone |
| 43. | pũT$^{h}$ | pũT$^{h}$ | pũT$^{h}$ | pũT$^{h}$ | pũT$^{h}$ | pũT$^{h}$ | buttock |
| 44. | muhduār | muhduār | muhduār | muhduār | muhduār | muhduār | Anus |
| 45. | liŋ | liŋ | liŋ | liŋ | liŋ | liŋ | Penis |
| 46. | ə̃Rkos | ə̃Rkos | ə̃Rkos | ə̃Rkos | ə̃Rkos | ə̃Rkos | Testis |
| 47. | yonĩ | yonĩ | yonĩ | yonĩ | yonĩ | yonĩ | Vagina |
| 48. | c$^{h}$ātĩ | c$^{h}$ātĩ | c$^{h}$ātĩ | c$^{h}$ātĩ | c$^{h}$ātĩ | c$^{h}$ātĩ | Chest |
| 49. | stən | stən | stən | stən | stən | stən | Breast |
| 50. | stən ke ToRnĩ | stən ke ToRnĩ | stən ke ToRnĩ | stən ke ToRnĩ | stən ke ToRnĩ | stən ke ToRnĩ | Nipple |
| 51. | hirdəy/dil | hirdəy/dil | hirdəy/dil | hirdəy/dil | hirdəy/dil | hirdəy/dil | Heart |
| 52. | kərej | kərej | kərej | kərej | kərej | kərej | Liver |
| 53. | peT | peT | peT | peT | peT | peT | Stomach |
| 54. | ton/d$^{h}$õd$^{h}$ | ton/d$^{h}$õd$^{h}$ | ton/d$^{h}$õd$^{h}$ | ton/d$^{h}$õd$^{h}$ | ton/d$^{h}$õd$^{h}$ | ton/d$^{h}$õd$^{h}$ | Abdomen |
| 55. | bəcdānĩ | bəcdānĩ | bəcdānĩ | bəcdānĩ | bəcdānĩ | bəcdānĩ | Womb |

Human Organs : Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | swəst$^{h}$ | swəst$^{h}$ | swəst$^{h}$ | nirogā | swəst$^{h}$ | swəst$^{h}$ | Healthy |
| 2. | əswəst$^{h}$ | əswəst$^{h}$ | əswəst$^{h}$ | rogiāh | əswəst$^{h}$ | əswəst$^{h}$ | Unhealthy |
| 3. | əpāŋ | əpāŋ | əpāŋ | əpāŋ | əpāŋ | əpāŋ | Disabled |
| 4. | moT | moT | moT | moT | moT | moT | Fat |
| 5. | dubər | dubər | dubər | dubər | dubər | dubər | Weak |
| 6. | pātər | pātər | pātər | pātər | pātər | pātər | Thin |
| 7. | gor | gor | gor | gor | gor | gor | White |
| 8. | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | Black |
| 9. | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | Tall |
| 10. | gulgẽT$^{h}$ | gulgẽT$^{h}$ | gulgẽT$^{h}$ | gulgẽT$^{h}$ | gulgẽT$^{h}$ | gulgẽT$^{h}$ | Short & fat |
| 11. | b$^{h}$uTā | b$^{h}$uTā | b$^{h}$uTā | bəonā | b$^{h}$uTā | b$^{h}$uTā | Short |
| 12. | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāT | Short |
| 13. | tonəil | tonəil | tonəil | tonəil | tonəil | tonəil | Pot-bellied |
| 14. | anhər | anhər | anhər | ənd$^{h}$ā | anhər | anhər | Blind |
| 15. | kənāh | kənāh | kənāh | kənhā | kənāh | kənāh | Single-eyed |
| 16. | DeRāh | DeRāh | DeRāh | DəR$^{h}$ā | DeRāh | DeRāh | Squint-eyed |
| 17. | bəhir | bəhir | bəhir | bəhirā | bəhir | bəhir | Deaf |
| 18. | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | bətāh | Dumb |
| 19. | bāgəR | bāgəR | bāgəR | bəgRā | bāgəR | bāgəR | Deaf & Dumb |
| 20. | totrāh | totrāh | totrāh | totrāhā | totrāh | totrāh | Stammering |
| 21. | c$^{h}$əoəŋuRiā | c$^{h}$əoəŋuRiā | c$^{h}$əoəŋuRiā | c$^{h}$əoəŋuRiā | c$^{h}$əoəŋuRiā | c$^{h}$əoəŋuRiā | Six-fingered |
| 22. | lul$^{h}$ | lul$^{h}$ | lul$^{h}$ | lul$^{h}$ā | lul$^{h}$ | lul$^{h}$ | Maimed |
| 23. | ləŋəR | ləŋəR | ləŋəR | ləŋəRā | ləŋəR | ləŋəR | Lame |
| 24. | k$^{h}$odk$^{h}$odāh | k$^{h}$odk$^{h}$odāh | k$^{h}$odk$^{h}$odāh | k$^{h}$odk$^{h}$odāh ā | k$^{h}$odk$^{h}$odāh | k$^{h}$odk$^{h}$odāh | Pock-marked |
| 25. | kubər | kubər | kubər | kubərā | kubər | kubər | Hunch-backed |

Human Organs : Verbs (Motion)

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | jaeke | jaeke | jaeke | jaeo | jaeke | jaeke | Go |
| 2. | aweke | aweke | aweke | aweko | aweke | aweke | Come |
| 3. | cəleke | cəleke | cəleke | cəleko | cəleke | cəleke | Walk |
| 4. | cəlaweke | cəlaweke | cəlaweke | cəlaweko | cəlaweke | cəlaweke | Make sb walk |
| 5. | ləoTeke | ləoTeke | ləoTeke | ləoTeko | ləoTeke | ləoTeke | Come back |
| 6. | ləg me jaeke | ləg me jaeke | ləg me jaeke | ləg me jaeko | ləg me jaeke | ləg me jaeke | Go near |
| 7. | leaweke | leaweke | leaweke | leaweko | leaweke | leaweke | Bring |
| 8. | k$^{h}$ĩceke | k$^{h}$ĩceke | k$^{h}$ĩceke | k$^{h}$ĩceko | k$^{h}$ĩceke | k$^{h}$ĩceke | Pull |
| 9. | pəiseke | pəiseke | pəiseke | pəiseko | pəiseke | pəiseke | Enter |
| 10. | pəisaweke | pəisaweke | pəisaweke | pəisaweko | pəisaweke | pəisaweke | Make sb/sth enter |
| 11. | nikəleke | nikəleke | nikəleke | nikəleko | nikəleke | nikəleke | Turn out |
| 12. | nikāleke | nikāleke | nikāleke | nikāleko | nikāleke | nikāleke | Turn out |
| 13. | g$^{h}$umeke | g$^{h}$umeke | g$^{h}$umeke | g$^{h}$umeko | g$^{h}$umeke | g$^{h}$umeke | Move |
| 14. | g$^{h}$umaweke | g$^{h}$umawek e | g$^{h}$umaweke | g$^{h}$umawek o | g$^{h}$umaweke | g$^{h}$umawek e | Make sb/sth move |
| 15. | b$^{h}$āgeke | b$^{h}$āgeke | b$^{h}$āgeke | b$^{h}$āgeko | b$^{h}$āgeke | b$^{h}$āgeke | Flee |
| 16. | b$^{h}$əgaweke | b$^{h}$əgaweke | b$^{h}$əgaweke | b$^{h}$əgaweko | b$^{h}$əgaweke | b$^{h}$əgaweke | Make sb/sth |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | flee |
| 17. | dʰəkeleke | dʰəkeleke | dʰəkeleke | dʰəkeleko | dʰəkeleke | dʰəkeleke | Push |
| 18. | Tʰeleke | Tʰeleke | Tʰeleke | Tʰeleko | Tʰeleke | Tʰeleke | Push |
| 19. | bʰejeke | bʰejeke | bʰejeke | bʰejeko | bʰejeke | bʰejeke | Send |
| 20. | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeko | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeke | Ride |
| 21. | utəreke | utəreke | utəreke | utəreko | utəreke | utəreke | Get off |
| 22. | utārеke | utārеke | utārеke | utārеko | utārеke | utārеke | Make sb/sth get off or unload |
| 23. | sātʰ deweke | sātʰ deweke | sātʰ deweke | sātʰ deweko | sātʰ deweke | sātʰ deweke | Accompany |
| 24. | pācʰ lāgeke | pācʰ lāgek e | pācʰ lāgeke | pācʰ lāgek o | pācʰ lāgeke | pācʰ lāgek e | Follow |
| 25. | kʰedeke | kʰedeke | kʰedeke | kʰedeko | kʰedeke | kʰedeke | Drive away |
| 26. | dəbaweke | dəbaweke | dəbaweke | dəbaweko | dəbaweke | dəbaweke | Press |
| 27. | pəkəReke | pəkəReke | pəkəReke | pəkəReko | pəkəReke | pəkəReke | Catch |
| 28. | dʰəreke | dʰəreke | dʰəreke | dʰəreko | dʰəreke | dʰəreke | Catch |
| 29. | həTeke | həTeke | həTeke | həTeko | həTeke | həTeke | Get out |
| 30. | həTaweke | həTaweke | həTaweke | həTaweko | həTaweke | həTaweke | Remove |
| 31. | jʰəTəkeke | jʰəTəkeke | jʰəTəkeke | jʰəTəkeko | jʰəTəkeke | jʰəTəkeke | Walk fast |
| 32. | tʰākeke | tʰākeke | tʰākeke | tʰākeko | tʰākeke | tʰākeke | Tire |
| 33. | gʰĩsiaweke | gʰĩsiaweke | gʰĩsiaweke | gʰĩsiaweko | gʰĩsiaweke | gʰĩsiaweke | Drag |
| 34. | gʰuskeke | gʰuskeke | gʰuskeke | gʰuskeko | gʰuskeke | gʰuskeke | Crawl |
| 35. | hucəkeke | hucəkeke | hucəkeke | hucəkeko | hucəkeke | hucəkeke | Hitch/Walk lamely |
| 36. | kudeke | kudeke | kudeke | kudeko | kudeke | kudeke | Jump |
| 37. | kudaweke | kudaweke | kudaweke | kudaweko | kudaweke | kudaweke | Make sb jump |
| 38. | lāŋheke | lāŋheke | lāŋheke | lāŋheko | lāŋheke | lāŋheke | Leap over |
| 39. | ləŋhaweke | ləŋhaweke | ləŋhaweke | ləŋhaweko | ləŋhaweke | ləŋhaweke | Make sb/sth leap over |
| 40. | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeko | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeke | Overthrow |
| 41. | pʰətəkwaweke | pʰətəkwaweke | pʰətəkwaweke | pʰətəkwaweko | pʰətəkwaweke | pʰətəkwaweke | Make sb overthrow |
| 42. | dəureke | dəureke | dəureke | dəureko | dəureke | dəureke | Run |
| 43. | dəuraweke | dəuraweke | dəuraweke | dəuraweko | dəuraweke | dəuraweke | Make sb run |
| 44. | nihureke | nihureke | nihureke | nihureko | nihureke | nihureke | Bow |
| 45. | nihuraweke | nihurawek e | nihuraweke | nihurawek o | nihuraweke | nihurawek e | Make sb bow |
| 46. | goR pəTkeke | goR pəTkeke | goR pəTkeke | goR pəTkeko | goR pəTkeke | goR pəTkeke | Stamp |
| 47. | goR/pãw ropeke | goR/pãw ropeke | goR/pãw ropeke | goR/pãw ropeko | goR/pãw ropeke | goR/pãw ropeke | Step |
| 48. | goR ropwaweke | goR ropwaweke | goR ropwaweke | goR ropwaweko | goR ropwaweke | goR ropwaweke | Make sb step |
| 49. | kĩceke | kĩceke | kĩceke | kĩceko | kĩceke | kĩceke | Tread |
| 50. | jãteke | jãteke | jãteke | jãteko | jãteke | jãteke | Press |
| 51. | pĩTeke | pĩTeke | pĩTeke | pĩTeko | pĩTeke | pĩTeke | Beat |
| 52. | pĩTwaweke | pĩTwaweke | pĩTwaweke | pĩTwaweko | pĩTwaweke | pĩTwaweke | Make sb beat |
| 53. | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeko | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeke | Throw |
| 54. | pʰẽkwawek e | pʰẽkwawek e | pʰẽkwawek e | pʰẽkwawek o | pʰẽkwawek e | pʰẽkwawek e | Make sb throw |
| 55. | ləmreke | ləmreke | ləmreke | ləmreko | ləmreke | ləmreke | Lengthen |

Human Organs: Verbs (others)

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kəheke | kəheke | kəheke | kəheko | kəheke | kəheke | Say |
| 2. | boleke | boleke | boleke | boleko | boleke | boleke | Speak |
| 3. | kʰaeke | kʰaeke | kʰaeke | kʰaeko | kʰaeke | kʰaeke | Eat |
| 4. | pieke | pieke | pieke | pieko | pieke | pieke | Drink |
| 5. | rokeke | rokeke | rokeke | rokeko | rokeke | rokeke | Stop |
| 6. | DʰekəReke | DʰekəReke | DʰekəReke | DʰekəReko | DʰekəReke | DʰekəReke | |
| 7. | pəpənī məlkeke | pəpənī məlkeke | pəpənī məlkeke | pəpənī məlkeko | pəpənī məlkeke | pəpənī məlkeke | Blink |
| 8. | kənkʰī cəlaweke | kənkʰī cəlaweke | kənkʰī cəlaweke | kənkʰī cəlaweko | kənkʰī cəlaweke | kənkʰī cəlaweke | Leer |
| 9. | pʰūkeke | pʰūkeke | pʰūkeke | pʰūkeko | pʰūkeke | pʰūkeke | Blow |
| 10. | põTā sirkeke | põTā sirkeke | põTā sirkeke | põTā sirkeko | põTā sirkeke | põTā sirkeke | Blow out mucus |
| 11. | tʰuk pʰẽkeke | tʰuk pʰẽkeke | tʰuk pʰẽkeke | tʰuk pʰẽkeko | tʰuk pʰẽkeke | tʰuk pʰẽkeke | Spit |
| 12. | məedān kəreke | məedān kəreke | məedān kəreke | məedān kəreko | məedān kəreke | məedān kəreke | Excrete faeces |
| 13. | pesāb kəreke | pesāb kəreke | pesāb kəreke | pesāb kəreko | pesāb kəreke | pesāb kəreke | Urine |
| 14. | jəmʰāī kəreke | jəmʰāī kəreke | jəmʰāī kəreke | jəmʰāī kəreko | jəmʰāī kəreke | jəmʰāī kəreke | Yawn |
| 15. | suŋʰeke | suŋʰeke | suŋʰeke | suŋʰeko | suŋʰeke | suŋʰeke | Smell |
| 16. | jənmeke | jənmeke | jənmeke | jənmeko | jənmeke | jənmeke | Be born |
| 17. | jənmaweke | jənmaweke | jənmaweke | jənmaweko | jənmaweke | jənmaweke | Bear |
| 18. | DʰĩRʰ pʰuleke | DʰĩRʰ pʰuleke | DʰĩRʰ pʰuleke | DʰĩRʰ pʰuleko | DʰĩRʰ pʰuleke | DʰĩRʰ pʰuleke | Conceive |
| 19. | DʰĩRʰ pʰulaweke | DʰĩRʰ pʰulaweke | DʰĩRʰ pʰulaweke | DʰĩRʰ pʰulaweko | DʰĩRʰ pʰulaweke | DʰĩRʰ pʰulaweke | Make sb conceive |
| 20. | yəon səmbə ndʰ kəreke/ codeke | yəon səmb əndʰ kərek e/codeke | yəon səmbə ndʰ kəreke/ codeke | yəon səmb əndʰ kərek o/codeko | yəon səmbə ndʰ kəreke/ codeke | yəon səmb əndʰ kərek e/codeke | Fuck |
| 21. | codaweke | codaweke | codaweke | codaweko | codaweke | codaweke | Get fucked |
| 22. | māreke | māreke | māreke | māreko | māreke | māreke | Kill |
| 23. | məreke | məreke | məreke | məreko | məreke | məreke | Die |
| 24. | tʰākeke | tʰākeke | tʰākeke | tʰākeko | tʰākeke | tʰākeke | Get tired |
| 25. | tʰəkaweke | tʰəkaweke | tʰəkaweke | tʰəkaweko | tʰəkaweke | tʰəkaweke | Tire |
| 26. | əuŋʰaeke | əuŋʰaeke | əuŋʰaeke | əuŋʰaeko | əuŋʰaeke | əuŋʰaeke | Doze |
| 27. | suteke | suteke | suteke | suteko | suteke | suteke | Sleep |
| 28. | sutaweke | sutaweke | sutaweke | sutaweko | sutaweke | sutaweke | Make sb sleep |
| 29. | pʰõpʰ kāteke | pʰõpʰ kāteke | pʰõpʰ kāteke | pʰõpʰ kāteko | pʰõpʰ kāteke | pʰõpʰ kāteke | Snore |
| 30. | jāgeke | jāgeke | jāgeke | jāgeko | jāgeke | jāgeke | Wake |
| 31. | jəgaweke | jəgaweke | jəgaweke | jəgaweko | jəgaweke | jəgaweke | Wake |
| 32. | sās leweke | sās leweke | sās leweke | sās leweko | sās leweke | sās leweke | Breathe |
| 33. | sõsiaeke | sõsiaeke | sõsiaeke | sõsiaeko | sõsiaeke | sõsiaeke | Pant |
| 34. | həRbəRaek e | həRbəRaek e | həRbəRaek e | həRbəRaek o | həRbəRaek e | həRbəRaek e | Haste |
| 35. | gʰəbRaeke | gʰəbRaeke | gʰəbRaeke | gʰəbRaeko | gʰəbRaeke | gʰəbRaeke | Startle |
| 36. | nəhaeke | nəhaeke | nəhaeke | nəhaeko | nəhaeke | nəhaeke | Bathe |
| 37. | nəhwaweke | nəhwawek e | nəhwaweke | nəhwawek o | nəhwaweke | nəhwawek e | Make sb bathe |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 38. | həuɑweke | həuɑweke | həuɑweke | həuɑweko | həuɑweke | həuɑweke | Itch |
| 39. | kulā kəreke | kulā kərek e | kulā kəreke | kulā kərek o | kulā kəreke | kulā kərek e | Gargle |
| 40. | muh d$^{h}$oeke | muh d$^{h}$oek e | muh d$^{h}$oeke | muh d$^{h}$oek o | muh d$^{h}$oeke | muh d$^{h}$oek e | Wash face |
| 41. | dãt məleke/ dətuən kəreke | dãt məleke /dətuən kəreke | dãt məleke/ dətuən kəreke | dãt məleko /dətuən kəreko | dãt məleke/ dətuən kəreke | dãt məleke /dətuən kəreke | Brush teeth |
| 42. | hãt$^{h}$goR d$^{h}$oeke | hãt$^{h}$goR d$^{h}$oeke | hãt$^{h}$goR d$^{h}$oeke | hãt$^{h}$goR d$^{h}$oeko | hãt$^{h}$goR d$^{h}$oeke | hãt$^{h}$goR d$^{h}$oeke | Wash hands and feet |
| 43. | pənc$^{h}$uā kəreke | pənc$^{h}$uā kəreke | pənc$^{h}$uā kəreke | pənc$^{h}$uā kəreko | pənc$^{h}$uā kəreke | pənc$^{h}$uā kəreke | Wash anus |
| 44. | gãR d$^{h}$oeke | gãR d$^{h}$oeke | gãR d$^{h}$oeke | gãR d$^{h}$oeko | gãR d$^{h}$oeke | gãR d$^{h}$oeke | Wash anus |
| 45. | nəoh kāteke | nəoh kāteke | nəoh kāteke | nəoh kāteko | nəoh kāteke | nəoh kāteke | Cut nails |
| 46. | muR kəmaweke | muR kəmaweke | muR kəmaweke | muR kəmaweko | muR kəmaweke | muR kəmaweke | Shave head |
| 47. | tāpeke | tāpeke | tāpeke | tāpeko | tāpeke | tāpeke | Warm oneself |
| 48. | əĩT$^{h}$eke | əĩT$^{h}$eke | əĩT$^{h}$eke | əĩT$^{h}$eko | əĩT$^{h}$eke | əĩT$^{h}$eke | Twist |
| 49. | kũt$^{h}$eke | kũt$^{h}$eke | kũt$^{h}$eke | kũt$^{h}$eko | kũt$^{h}$eke | kũt$^{h}$eke | Groan |
| 50. | kəhə̃reke | kəhə̃reke | kəhə̃reke | kəhə̃reko | kəhə̃reke | kəhə̃reke | Whine |
| 51. | bəRbəRaek e | bəRbəRaek e | bəRbəRaek e | bəRbəRaek o | bəRbəRaek e | bəRbəRaek e | Mutter |
| 52. | oR$^{h}$eke | oR$^{h}$eke | oR$^{h}$eke | oR$^{h}$eko | oR$^{h}$eke | oR$^{h}$eke | Cover with cloth |
| 53. | oR$^{h}$aweke | oR$^{h}$aweke | oR$^{h}$aweke | oR$^{h}$aweko | oR$^{h}$aweke | oR$^{h}$aweke | Cover with cloth |
| 54. | TuTeke | TuTeke | TuTeke | TuTeko | TuTeke | TuTeke | Break |
| 55. | mərkeke | mərkeke | mərkeke | mərkeko | mərkeke | mərkeke | Twist |
| 56. | toReke | toReke | toReke | toReko | toReke | toReke | Break |
| 57. | toRwaweke | toRwaweke | toRwaweke | toRwawek o | toRwaweke | toRwaweke | Make sb break |
| 58. | həst məet$^{h}$un kəreke | həst məet$^{h}$un kəreke | həst məet$^{h}$un kəreke | həst məet$^{h}$un kəreko | həst məet$^{h}$un kəreke | həst məet$^{h}$un kəreke | Masturbate |
| 59. | cāTeke | cāTeke | cāTeke | cāTeko | cāTeke | cāTeke | Lick |
| 60. | cumā leweke | cumā leweke | cumā leweke | cumā leweko | cumā leweke | cumā leweke | Kiss |
| 61. | əkwār leweke | əkwār leweke | əkwār leweke | əkwār leweko | əkwār leweke | əkwār leweke | Hug |
| 62. | t$^{h}$əpəRĩ bəjaweke | t$^{h}$əpəRĩ bəjaweke | t$^{h}$əpəRĩ bəjaweke | t$^{h}$əpəRĩ bəjaweko | t$^{h}$əpəRĩ bəjaweke | t$^{h}$əpəRĩ bəjaweke | Clap |
| 63. | cuTəkĩ bəjāweke | cuTəkĩ bəjāweke | cuTəkĩ bəjāweke | cuTəkĩ bəjāweko | cuTəkĩ bəjāweke | cuTəkĩ bəjāweke | Snap fingers |
| 64. | suskārĩ pāreke | suskārĩ pāreke | suskārĩ pāreke | suskārĩ pāreko | suskārĩ pāreke | suskārĩ pāreke | Whistle |
| 65. | suskeke | suskeke | suskeke | suskeko | suskeke | suskeke | Hiss |

Diseases and Treatment: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bemārĩ | bemārĩ | bemārĩ | bemārĩ | bemārĩ | bemārĩ | Disease |
| 2. | dərəd | dərəd | dərəd | dərəd | dərəd | dərəd | Pain |
| 3. | rodən | rodən | rodən | rodən | rodən | rodən | Groan/cry |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | swast$^{h}$yə | swast$^{h}$yə | swast$^{h}$yə | swast$^{h}$yə | swast$^{h}$yə | swast$^{h}$yə | Health |
| 5. | kəmjorĩ | kəmjorĩ | kəmjorĩ | kəmjorĩ | kəmjorĩ | kəmjorĩ | Weakness |
| 6. | g$^{h}$āw | g$^{h}$āw | g$^{h}$āw | g$^{h}$āw | g$^{h}$āw | g$^{h}$āw | Wound |
| 7. | coT | coT | coT | coT | coT | coT | Injury |
| 8. | bok$^{h}$ār | bok$^{h}$ār | bok$^{h}$ār | bok$^{h}$ār | bok$^{h}$ār | bok$^{h}$ār | Fever |
| 9. | sərdĩ | sərdĩ | sərdĩ | jukām | sərdĩ | sərdĩ | Flu |
| 10. | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ | Cough |
| 11. | koR$^{h}$ | koR$^{h}$ | koR$^{h}$ | koR$^{h}$ | koR$^{h}$ | koR$^{h}$ | Leprosy |
| 12. | Tĩbĩ | Tĩbĩ | Tĩbĩ | Tĩbĩ | Tĩbĩ | Tĩbĩ | Tuberculosis |
| 13. | myādĩ bok$^{h}$ār | myādĩ bok$^{h}$ār | myādĩ bok$^{h}$ār | myādĩ bok$^{h}$ār | myādĩ bok$^{h}$ār | myādĩ bok$^{h}$ār | Typhoid |
| 14. | məleriā | məleriā | məleriā | məleriā | məleriā | məleriā | Malaria |
| 15. | həejā | həejā | həejā | həejā | həejā | həejā | Cholera |
| 16. | peTj$^{h}$ərĩ | peTj$^{h}$ərĩ | peTj$^{h}$ərĩ | peTj$^{h}$ərĩ | peTj$^{h}$ərĩ | peTj$^{h}$ərĩ | Diarrhoea |
| 17. | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | cecək | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | Smallpox |
| 18. | kodwā maĩ | kodwā maĩ | kodwā maĩ | kodwā maĩ | kodwā maĩ | kodwā maĩ | Measles |
| 19. | əŋārmətĩ | əŋārmətĩ | əŋārmətĩ | əŋārmətĩ | əŋārmətĩ | əŋārmətĩ | |
| 20. | sulbāy | sulbāy | sulbāy | sulbāh | sulbāy | sulbāy | Dysentery |
| 21. | jõkiı | jõkiı | jõkiı | jõkiı | jõkiı | jõkiı | Parasite |
| 22. | bik$^{h}$ | bik$^{h}$ | bik$^{h}$ | bik$^{h}$ | bik$^{h}$ | bik$^{h}$ | Poison |
| 23. | dəwaĩ | dəwaĩ | dəwaĩ | dəwaĩ | dəwaĩ | dəwaĩ | Medicine |
| 24. | dināy | dināy | dināy | dināy | dināy | dināy | Ringworm |
| 25. | pət$^{h}$ərĩ | pət$^{h}$ərĩ | pət$^{h}$ərĩ | pət$^{h}$ərĩ | pət$^{h}$ərĩ | pət$^{h}$ərĩ | Kidney/Gall stone |
| 26. | gəestrik | gəestrik | gəestrik | gəestrik | gəestrik | gəestrik | Gastric |
| 27. | muRbət$^{h}$ĩ | muRbət$^{h}$ĩ | muRbət$^{h}$ĩ | muRbət$^{h}$ĩ | muRbət$^{h}$ĩ | muRbət$^{h}$ĩ | Headache |
| 28. | də̃tduk$^{h}$ĩ | də̃tduk$^{h}$ĩ | də̃tduk$^{h}$ĩ | də̃tduk$^{h}$ĩ | də̃tduk$^{h}$ĩ | də̃tduk$^{h}$ĩ | Toothache |
| 29. | kənbət$^{h}$ĩ | kənbət$^{h}$ĩ | kənbət$^{h}$ĩ | kənbət$^{h}$ĩ | kənbət$^{h}$ĩ | kənbət$^{h}$ĩ | Earache |
| 30. | ə̃k$^{h}$uT$^{h}$ĩ | ə̃k$^{h}$uT$^{h}$ĩ | ə̃k$^{h}$uT$^{h}$ĩ | ə̃k$^{h}$uT$^{h}$ĩ | ə̃k$^{h}$uT$^{h}$ĩ | ə̃k$^{h}$uT$^{h}$ĩ | Exophthalmia |
| 31. | rətəunĩ | rətəunĩ | rətəunĩ | rətəunĩ | rətəunĩ | rətəunĩ | Night blindness |
| 32. | kəRək | kəRək | kəRək | kəRək | kəRək | kəRək | Urinary inflammation |
| 33. | ənpəc | ənpəc | ənpəc | ənpəc | ənpəc | ənpəc | Indigestion |
| 34. | kəy | kəy | kəy | ulTĩ | kəy | kəy | Vomiting |
| 35. | sənək | sənək | sənək | sənək | sənək | sənək | Insanity |

Diseases & Treatment: Adverbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | rogĩ | rogĩ | rogĩ | rogĩ | rogĩ | rogĩ | Sick |
| 2. | mərĩj | mərĩj | mərĩj | mərĩj | mərĩj | mərĩj | Patient |
| 3. | kəmjor | kəmjor | kəmjor | kəmjor | kəmjor | kəmjor | Weak |
| 4. | g$^{h}$āwāhil | g$^{h}$āwāhil | g$^{h}$āwāhil | g$^{h}$āwāhil | g$^{h}$āwāhil | g$^{h}$āwāhil | Wounded |
| 5. | bok$^{h}$ār lāgəl | bok$^{h}$ār lāgəl | bok$^{h}$ār lāgəl | bok$^{h}$ār lāgəl | bok$^{h}$ār lāgəl | bok$^{h}$ār lāgəl | Fevered |
| 6. | sərdĩ b$^{h}$əil | sərdĩ b$^{h}$el | sərdĩ b$^{h}$el | sərdĩ b$^{h}$ā | sərdĩ b$^{h}$el | sərdĩ b$^{h}$əil | Flu patient |
| 7. | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ b$^{h}$əil | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ b$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ b$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ b$^{h}$ā | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ b$^{h}$el | k$^{h}$ōk$^{h}$ĩ b$^{h}$əil | Cough patient |
| 8. | koR$^{h}$ĩ | koR$^{h}$ĩ | koR$^{h}$ĩ | koR$^{h}$ĩ | koR$^{h}$ĩ | koR$^{h}$ĩ | Leprous |
| 9. | Tibiah | Tibiah | Tibiah | Tibiah | Tibiah | Tibiah | TB-patient |
| 10. | həejā lāgəl | həejā lāgəl | həejā lāgəl | həejā lāgəl | həejā lāgəl | həejā lāgəl | Cholera patient |
| 11. | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | niskārĩ | Smallpox patient |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | bʰəil | bʰel | bʰel | bʰā | bʰel | bʰəil | |
| 12. | dināywālā | dināywālā | dināywālā | dināywālā | dināywālā | dināywālā | Ringworm patient |
| 13. | sənkāh | sənkāh | sənkāh | sənkāh | sənkāh | sənkāh | Insane |
| 14. | ərdʰpāgəl | ərdʰpāgəl | ərdʰpāgəl | ərdʰpāgəl | ərdʰpāgəl | ərdʰpāgəl | Half minded |
| 15. | gʰegʰāh | gʰegʰāh | gʰegʰāh | gʰegʰāh | gʰegʰāh | gʰegʰāh | Goiter patient |

Diseases & Treatment: Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bemārī̃ hoeke | bemārī̃ hoeke | bemārī̃ hoeke | bemārī̃ hoeko | bemārī̃ hoeke | bemārī̃ hoeke | Fall ill |
| 2. | dukʰaeke | dukʰaeke | dukʰaeke | dukʰaeko | dukʰaeke | dukʰaeke | Pain |
| 3. | dubraeke | dubraeke | dubraeke | dubraeko | dubraeke | dubraeke | Weaken |
| 4. | pʰõsərī̃ hoeke | pʰõsərī̃ hoeke | pʰõsərī̃ hoeke | pʰõsərī̃ hoeko | pʰõsərī̃ hoeke | pʰõsərī̃ hoeke | Ulcerate |
| 5. | nirog hoeke | nirog hoek e | nirog hoeke | nirog hoek o | nirog hoeke | nirog hoek e | Feel well |
| 6. | bemārī̃ cʰuTeke | bemārī̃ cʰuTeke | bemārī̃ cʰuTeke | bemārī̃ cʰuTeko | bemārī̃ cʰuTeke | bemārī̃ cʰuTeke | Recover |
| 7. | ilāj kəreke | ilāj kəreke | ilāj kəreke | ilāj kəreko | ilāj kəreke | ilāj kəreke | Treat |
| 8. | kʰəkʰāreke | kʰəkʰāreke | kʰəkʰāreke | kʰəkʰāreko | kʰəkʰāreke | kʰəkʰāreke | Expectorate |
| 9. | cʰîkeke | cʰîkeke | cʰîkeke | cʰîkeko | cʰîkeke | cʰîkeke | Sneeze |
| 10. | cʰəTpəTaek e | cʰəTpəTae ke | cʰəTpəTaek e | cʰəTpəTae ko | cʰəTpəTaek e | cʰəTpəTae ke | Toss |
| 11. | dʰəkdʰəkae ke | dʰəkdʰəkae ke | dʰəkdʰəkae ke | dʰəkdʰəkae ko | dʰəkdʰəkae ke | dʰəkdʰəkae ke | Beat |
| 12. | leʰū bəheke | leʰū bəhek e | leʰū bəheke | leʰū bəhek o | leʰū bəheke | leʰū bəhek e | Bleed |
| 13. | behos hoeke | behos hoeke | behos hoeke | behos hoeko | behos hoeke | behos hoeke | Faint |
| 14. | kʰõkʰeke | kʰõkʰeke | kʰõkʰeke | kʰõkʰeko | kʰõkʰeke | kʰõkʰeke | Cough |
| 15. | həuaeke | həuaeke | həuaeke | həuaeko | həuaeke | həuaeke | Itch |
| 16. | okiaeke | okiaeke | okiaeke | okiaeko | okiaeke | okiaeke | Vomit |
| 17. | peT jʰəreke | peT jʰəreke | peT jʰəreke | peT jʰəreko | peT jʰəreke | peT jʰəreke | Excrete loose faeces |
| 18. | cʰereke | cʰereke | cʰereke | cʰereko | cʰereke | cʰereke | Suffer from Diarrhoea |
| 19. | coT lāgeke | coT lāgeke | coT lāgeke | coT lāgeko | coT lāgeke | coT lāgeke | Be Hurt |
| 20. | səheke | səheke | səheke | səheko | səheke | səheke | Bear |
| 21. | nās hoeke | nās hoeke | nās hoeke | nās hoeko | nās hoeke | nās hoeke | Ruin |
| 22. | gʰāw hoeke | gʰāw hoek e | gʰāw hoeke | gʰāw hoek o | gʰāw hoeke | gʰāw hoek e | Wound |
| 23. | pʰuleke | pʰuleke | pʰuleke | pʰuleko | pʰuleke | pʰuleke | Swell |
| 24. | TuTeke | TuTeke | TuTeke | TuTeko | TuTeke | TuTeke | Fracture |
| 25. | bokʰār lāgeke | bokʰār lāgeke | bokʰār lāgeke | bokʰār lāgeko | bokʰār lāgeke | bokʰār lāgeke | Fever |

Building: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | gʰər | gʰər | gʰər | gʰər | gʰər | gʰər | Home/house |
| 2. | məkān | məkān | məkān | məkān | məkān | məkān | Building |
| 3. | TāT | TāT | TāT | TāT | TāT | TāT | Partition |
| 4. | cʰərdəwālī̃ | cʰərdəwālī̃ | cʰərdəwālī̃ | cʰərdəwālī̃ | cʰərdəwālī̃ | cʰərdəwālī̃ | Fence |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | cʰət | cʰət | cʰət | cʰət | cʰət | cʰət | Concrete roof |
| 6. | cʰəppər | cʰəppər | cʰəppər | cʰəppər | cʰəppər | cʰəppər | Thatched roof |
| 7. | bʰĩt/dewāl | bʰĩt/dewāl | bʰĩt/dewāl | bʰĩt/dewāl | bʰĩt/dewāl | bʰĩt/dewāl | Wall |
| 8. | upərkā tətā | upərkā tətā | upərkā tətā | upərkā tətā | upərkā tətā | upərkā tətā | Top floor |
| 9. | bʰuĩtəlā | bʰuĩtəlā | bʰuĩtəlā | bʰuĩtəlā | bʰuĩtəlā | bʰuĩtəlā | Ground floor |
| 10. | dumuhā | dumuhā | dumuhā | dumuhā | dumuhā | dumuhā | Ante-room |
| 11. | dəlin | dəlin | dəlin | dəlān | dəlin | dəlin | Ante-room |
| 12. | kʰāmʰā | kʰāmʰā | kʰāmʰā | kʰāmʰā | kʰāmʰā | kʰāmʰā | Wooden post |
| 13. | cãRĩ | cãRĩ | cãRĩ | cãRĩ | cãRĩ | cãRĩ | Support |
| 14. | bārdəlĩ | bārdəlĩ | bārdəlĩ | bārdəlĩ | bārdəlĩ | bārdəlĩ | Balcony |
| 15. | dəlicĩ/ kʰiRki | dəlicĩ/ kʰiRki | dəlicĩ/ kʰiRki | dəlicĩ/ kʰiRki | dəlicĩ/ kʰiRki | dəlicĩ/ kʰiRki | Window |
| 16. | cʰəukəTʰ | cʰəukəTʰ | cʰəukəTʰ | cʰəukəTʰ | cʰəukəTʰ | cʰəukəTʰ | Door |
| 17. | pālā | pālā | pālā | pālā | pālā | pālā | Panel |
| 18. | bʰansagʰər | bʰansagʰər | bʰansagʰər | bʰansagʰər | bʰansagʰər | bʰansagʰər | Kitchen |
| 19. | bʰənDār | bʰənDār | bʰənDār | bʰənDār | bʰənDār | bʰənDār | Store room |
| 20. | culhā | culh | culh | culhā | culh | culh | Oven |

Building: Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | cʰoTkā | Small |
| 2. | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | Big |
| 3. | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | Long |
| 4. | cʰoT | cʰoT | cʰoT | cʰoTā | cʰoT | cʰoT | Short |
| 5. | cʰərgər/ kʰəRā | cʰərgər/ kʰəRā | cʰərgər/ kʰəRā | cʰərgər/ kʰəRā | cʰərgər/ kʰəRā | cʰərgər/ kʰəRā | Tall/High |
| 6. | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāT | nāT | Short |
| 7. | sojʰ | sojʰ | sojʰ | sojʰ | sojʰ | sojʰ | Straight |
| 8. | gʰurməuā | gʰurməuā | gʰurməuā | gʰurməuā | gʰurməuā | gʰurməuā | Curved |
| 9. | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | New |
| 10. | purān | purān | purān | purānā | purān | purān | Old |
| 11. | sāpʰ | sāpʰ | sāpʰ | sāpʰ | sāpʰ | sāpʰ | Clean |
| 12. | pʰuhər | pʰuhər | pʰuhər | pʰuhər | pʰuhər | pʰuhər | Dirty |
| 13. | kĩrā lāgəl | kĩrā lāgəl | kĩrā lāgəl | kĩrā lāgā | kĩrā lāgəl | kĩrā lāgəl | Wormed |
| 14. | səRəl | səRəl | səRəl | səRā | səRəl | səRəl | Rotten |
| 15. | bəriār | bəriār | bəriār | bəriār | bəriār | bəriār | Strong |
| 16. | dūbər | dūbər | dūbər | dūbrā | dūbər | dūbər | Lean |
| 17. | pʰəilĩ | pʰəilĩ | pʰəilĩ | pʰəilĩ | pʰəilĩ | pʰəilĩ | Broad |
| 18. | səket | səket | səket | səket | səket | səket | Narrow |
| 19. | əguār | əguār | əguār | əguārā | əguār | əguār | Front |
| 20. | pəcʰuār | pəcʰuār | pəcʰuār | pəcʰuārā | pəcʰuār | pəcʰuār | Back |
| 21. | gə̃wəhĩ | gə̃wəhĩ | gə̃wəhĩ | gə̃wəhĩ | gə̃wəhĩ | gə̃wəhĩ | Rural |
| 22. | səhəruā | səhəruā | səhəruā | səhəruā | səhəruā | səhəruā | Urban |
| 23. | pəros ke | pəros ke | pəros ke | pəros ke | pəros ke | pəros ke | Neighboring |
| 24. | kədwāh | kədwāh | kədwāh | kədwāhā | kədwāh | kədwāh | Muddy |
| 25. | cikTĩ | cikTĩ | cikTĩ | cikTĩ | cikTĩ | cikTĩ | Whitish muddy |
| 26. | ujər | ujər | ujər | ujrā | ujər | ujər | White |
| 27. | lāl | lāl | lāl | lāl | lāl | lāl | Red |
| 28. | piər | piər | piər | piərā | piər | piər | Yellow |
| 29. | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | Black |
| 30. | liləhĩ | liləhĩ | liləhĩ | liləhĩ | liləhĩ | liləhĩ | Blue |

Building: Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bəiTʰeke | bəiTʰeke | bəiTʰeke | bəiTʰeko | bəiTʰeke | bəiTʰeke | Sit |
| 2. | bəiTʰɑweke | bəiTʰɑweke | bəiTʰɑweke | bəiTʰɑwek o | bəiTʰɑwek e | bəiTʰɑwek e | Cause to sit |
| 3. | gʰereke | gʰereke | gʰereke | gʰereko | gʰereke | gʰereke | Fence |
| 4. | bicʰɑweke | bicʰɑweke | bicʰɑweke | bicʰɑweko | bicʰɑweke | bicʰɑweke | Spread |
| 5. | ulTɑweke | ulTɑweke | ulTɑweke | ulTɑweko | ulTɑweke | ulTɑweke | Turn over |
| 6. | cireke | cireke | cireke | cireko | cireke | cireke | Saw |
| 7. | əRkeke | əRkeke | əRkeke | əRkeko | əRkeke | əRkeke | Choke |
| 8. | əRkɑweke | əRkɑweke | əRkɑweke | əRkɑweko | əRkɑweke | əRkɑweke | Block |
| 9. | põcʰeke | põcʰeke | põcʰeke | põcʰeko | põcʰeke | põcʰeke | Wipe |
| 10. | tālā māreke | tālā māreke | tālā māreke | tālā mārek o | tālā mārek e | tālā mārek e | Lock |
| 11. | bənd kəreke | bənd kəreke | bənd kəreke | bənd kəreko | bənd kəreke | bənd kəreke | Close |
| 12. | kʰoleke | kʰoleke | kʰoleke | kʰoleko | kʰoleke | kʰoleke | Open |
| 13. | kʰəRā kəreke | kʰəRā kəreke | kʰəRā kəreke | kʰəRā kəreko | kʰəRā kəreke | kʰəRā kəreke | Erect |
| 14. | nipeke | nipeke | nipeke | nipeko | nipeke | nipeke | Smear |
| 15. | poteke | poteke | poteke | poteko | poteke | poteke | Paint |
| 16. | cʰɑweke | cʰɑweke | cʰɑweke | cʰɑweko | cʰɑweke | cʰɑweke | Cover the roof |
| 17. | Dʰəheke | Dʰəheke | Dʰəheke | Dʰəheko | Dʰəheke | Dʰəheke | Crumble |
| 18. | kʰāmhā həlɑweke | kʰāmhā həlɑweke | kʰāmhā həlɑweke | kʰāmhā həlɑweko | kʰāmhā həlɑweke | kʰāmhā həlɑweke | Erect a pillar |
| 19. | sĩRʰĩ pər cəRʰeke | sĩRʰĩ pər cəRʰeke | sĩRʰĩ pər cəRʰeke | sĩRʰĩ pər cəRʰeko | sĩRʰĩ pər cəRʰeke | sĩRʰĩ pər cəRʰeke | Step up stairs |
| 20. | cəukĩ pər suteke | cəukĩ pər suteke | cəukĩ pər suteke | cəukĩ pər suteko | cəukĩ pər suteke | cəukĩ pər suteke | Step down stairs |
| 21. | siləuTĩ pər piseke | siləuTĩ pər piseke | siləuTĩ pər piseke | siləuTĩ pər piseko | siləuTĩ pər piseke | siləuTĩ pər piseke | Trample |
| 22. | jãtā me piseke | jãtā me piseke | jãtā me piseke | jãtā me piseko | jãtā me piseke | jãtā me piseke | Grind |
| 23. | Dʰẽkĩ me kuTeke | Dʰẽkĩ me kuTeke | Dʰẽkĩ me kuTeke | Dʰẽkĩ me kuTeko | Dʰẽkĩ me kuTeke | Dʰẽkĩ me kuTeke | Pound |
| 24. | tel pereke | tel pereke | tel pereke | tel pereko | tel pereke | tel pereke | Press/Crunch |
| 25. | gʰər Dʰāheke | gʰər Dʰāheke | gʰər Dʰāheke | gʰər Dʰāheko | gʰər Dʰāheke | gʰər Dʰāheke | Demolish house |
| 26. | bānheke | bānheke | bānheke | bānheko | bānheke | bānheke | Bind |
| 27. | səReke | səReke | səReke | səReko | səReke | səReke | Rotten |
| 28. | sukʰeke | sukʰeke | sukʰeke | sukʰeko | sukʰeke | sukʰeke | Dry |
| 29. | cihəkeke | cihəkeke | cihəkeke | cihəkeko | cihəkeke | cihəkeke | Crack |
| 30. | pʰāTeke | pʰāTeke | pʰāTeke | pʰāTeko | pʰāTeke | pʰāTeke | Tear |

Utensils: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bərtən | bərtən | bərtən | bərtən | bərtən | bərtən | Utensils |
| 2. | tāwā | tāwā | tāwā | tāwā | tāwā | tāwā | Pan |
| 3. | loTā | loTā | loTā | bədʰənā | loTā | loTā | Water-pot |
| 4. | gʰəilĩ | gəgərĩ | gəgərĩ | gəgərĩ | gəgərĩ | gəgərĩ | Pitcher |
| 5. | bʰuRkĩ | bʰuRkĩ | bʰuRkĩ | bʰuRkĩ | bʰuRkĩ | bʰuRkĩ | Small pitcher |
| 6. | bəRʰnĩ | bəRʰnĩ | bəRʰnĩ | bəRʰnĩ | bəRʰnĩ | bəRʰnĩ | Broom |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | cimTā | cimTā | cimTā | cimTā | cimTā | cimTā | Claw |
| 8. | Dʰəkənā | Dʰəkənā | Dʰəkənā | Dʰəkən | Dʰəkənā | Dʰəkənā | Cover |
| 9. | kərcʰul | kərcʰul | kərcʰul | kərcʰul | kərcʰul | kərcʰul | Ladle |
| 10. | cʰolnĩ | cʰolnĩ | cʰolnĩ | cʰolnĩ | cʰolnĩ | cʰolnĩ | Spatula |
| 11. | cələonā | cələonā | cələonā | cələonā | cələonā | cələonā | Wooden spatula |
| 12. | cəməc | cəməc | cəməc | cəməc | cəməc | cəməc | Spoon |
| 13. | kənesrā | kənesrā | kənesrā | kənəsrā | kənesrā | kənesrā | Canister |
| 14. | pyālā | pyālā | pyālā | piyālā | pyālā | pyālā | Cup |
| 15. | sisĩ | sisĩ | sisĩ | sisĩ | sisĩ | sisĩ | Phial |
| 16. | botəl | botəl | botəl | botəl | botəl | botəl | Bottle |
| 17. | cʰipā | cʰipā | cʰipā | cʰipā | cʰipā | cʰipā | Deep dish |
| 18. | bəTlohĩ | bəTlohĩ | bəTlohĩ | bəTlohĩ | bəTlohĩ | bəTlohĩ | Wide mounted cooking pot |
| 19. | pəleT | pəleT | pəleT | pəleT | pəleT | pəleT | Plate |
| 20. | cʰipulĩ | cʰipulĩ | cʰipulĩ | cʰipulĩ | cʰipulĩ | cʰipulĩ | Small dish |
| 21. | kəcorā | kəcorā | kəcorā | kəTorā | kəcorā | kəcorā | Bowl |
| 22. | bəhbunā | bəhbunā | bəhbunā | bəhbunā | bəhbunā | bəhbunā | Cooking pot |
| 23. | kərāhĩ | kərāhĩ | kərāhĩ | kərāhĩ | kərāhĩ | kərāhĩ | Cauldron |
| 24. | gilās | gilās | gilās | gilās | gilās | gilās | Glass |
| 25. | ketəlĩ/ caydānĩ | ketəlĩ/ caydānĩ | ketəlĩ/ caydānĩ | ketəlĩ/ caydānĩ | ketəlĩ/ caydānĩ | ketəlĩ/ caydānĩ | Kettle |
| 26. | təulĩ | təulĩ | təulĩ | təulĩ | təulĩ | təulĩ | Thin metal cooking pot |
| 27. | borsĩ | borsĩ | borsĩ | borsĩ | borsĩ | borsĩ | Earthen pot to hold fire |
| 28. | kəntĩ | kəntĩ | kəntĩ | kəntĩ | kəntĩ | kəntĩ | Hollow bamboo pot |
| 29. | DəgəRā | DəgəRā | DəgəRā | DəgəRā | DəgəRā | DəgəRā | Bamboo appliance to clean grains |
| 30. | supəlĩ | supəlĩ | supəlĩ | supəlĩ | supəlĩ | supəlĩ | Bamboo appliance |

Utensils: Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | bʰənsiā | Cook |
| 2. | kʰənihār | kʰənihār | kʰənihār | kʰənihār | kʰənihār | kʰənihār | Eater |
| 3. | rəkʰnihār | rəkʰnihār | rəkʰnihār | rəkʰnihār | rəkʰnihār | rəkʰnihār | Keeper |
| 4. | sonā ke/ sonəulĩ | sonā ke/ sonəulĩ | sonā ke/ sonəulĩ | sonā ke/ sonəulĩ | sonā ke/ sonəulĩ | sonā ke/ sonəulĩ | Golden |
| 5. | cānĩ ke/ rupəulĩ | cānĩ ke/ rupəulĩ | cānĩ ke/ rupəulĩ | cānĩ ke/ rupəulĩ | cānĩ ke/ rupəulĩ | cānĩ ke/ rupəulĩ | Silver made |
| 6. | tāmā ke/ tāmāhā | tāmā ke/ tāmāhā | tāmā ke/ tāmāhā | tāmā ke/ tāmāhā | tāmā ke/ tāmāhā | tāmā ke/ tāmāhā | Copper made |
| 7. | kãsāhā | kãsāhā | kãsāhā | kãsāhā | kãsāhā | kãsāhā | Bronze made |
| 8. | pitəriā | pitəriā | pitəriā | pitəriā | pitəriā | pitəriā | Brass made |
| 9. | lohəĩ | lohəĩ | lohəĩ | lohəĩ | lohəĩ | lohəĩ | Iron made |
| 10. | həluk | həluk | həluk | həlukā | həluk | həluk | Light |
| 11. | stil ke | stil ke | stil ke | stil ke | stil ke | stil ke | Steel made |
| 12. | kũcail | kũcael | kũcael | kũcgāwā | kũcael | kũcail | Crushed |
| 13. | cuewālā | cuewālā | cuewālā | cuewālā | cuewālā | cuewālā | Holed |
| 14. | kiləuā | kiləuā | kiləuā | kiləuā | kiləuā | kiləuā | Containing one kg. |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | dukiləuā | dukiləuā | dukiləuā | dukiləuā | dukiləuā | dukiləuā | Containing two kg. |
| 16. | bəhārewālā | bəhārewāl ā | bəhārewālā | bəhārewāl ā | bəhārewālā | bəhārewāl ā | Sweeper |
| 17. | bʰriāhĩ | bʰriāhĩ | bʰriāhĩ | bʰriāhĩ | bʰriāhĩ | bʰriāhĩ | Heavy |
| 18. | sisəhĩ | sisəhĩ | sisəhĩ | sisəhĩ | sisəhĩ | sisəhĩ | Glass made |
| 19. | kə̃cəhĩ | kə̃cəhĩ | kə̃cəhĩ | kə̃cəhĩ | kə̃cəhĩ | kə̃cəhĩ | Glass made |
| 20. | gəhir | gəhĩR | gəhĩR | gəhĩRā | gəhĩR | gəhĩR | Deep |

Utensils: Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | mājeke | mājeke | mājeke | mājeko | mājeke | mājeke | Clean/Brush |
| 2. | təhiaweke | təhiaweke | təhiaweke | təhiaweko | təhiaweke | təhiaweke | Fold |
| 3. | tʰəkiaweke | tʰəkiaweke | tʰəkiaweke | tʰəkiaweko | tʰəkiaweke | tʰəkiaweke | Pile |
| 4. | səjaweke | səjaweke | səjaweke | səjaweko | səjaweke | səjaweke | Decorate |
| 5. | bəjaweke | bəjaweke | bəjaweke | bəjaweko | bəjaweke | bəjaweke | Beat |
| 6. | bəToReke | bəToReke | bəToReke | bəToReko | bəToReke | bəToReke | Gather |
| 7. | cʰiTeke | cʰiTeke | cʰiTeke | cʰiTeko | cʰiTeke | cʰiTeke | Scatter |
| 8. | bʰəreke | bʰəreke | bʰəreke | bʰəreko | bʰəreke | bʰəreke | Fill |
| 9. | gireke | gireke | gireke | gireko | gireke | gireke | Drop |
| 10. | jəReke | jəReke | jəReke | jəReko | jəReke | jəReke | Burn |
| 11. | sāTeke | sāTeke | sāTeke | sāTeko | sāTeke | sāTeke | Paste/patch |
| 12. | kʰiaeke | kʰiaeke | kʰiaeke | kʰiaeko | kʰiaeke | kʰiaeke | Decay |
| 13. | purān hoeke | purān hoeke | purān hoeke | purān hoeko | purān hoeke | purān hoeke | Outdate |
| 14. | pewən joReke | pewən joReke | pewən joReke | pewən joReko | pewən joReke | pewən joReke | Patch |
| 15. | toReke | toReke | toReke | toReko | toReke | toReke | Break |
| 16. | bədleke | bədleke | bədleke | bədleko | bədleke | bədleke | Change |
| 17. | pʰuTeke | pʰuTeke | pʰuTeke | pʰuTeko | pʰuTeke | pʰuTeke | Crack |
| 18. | TuTeke | TuTeke | TuTeke | TuTeko | TuTeke | TuTeke | Break |
| 19. | cueke | cueke | cueke | cueko | cueke | cueke | Drip |
| 20. | sāpʰ kəreke | sāpʰ kəreke | sāpʰ kəreke | sāpʰ kəreko | sāpʰ kəreke | sāpʰ kəreke | Clean |
| 21. | juTʰ kəreke | juTʰ kəreke | juTʰ kəreke | juTʰ kəreko | juTʰ kəreke | juTʰ kəreke | Pollute by eating |
| 22. | əmənіā kəreke | əmənіā kəreke | əmənіā kəreke | əmənіā kəreko | əmənіā kəreke | əmənіā kəreke | Purify |
| 23. | dʰoeke | dʰoeke | dʰoeke | dʰoeko | dʰoeke | dʰoeke | Wash |
| 24. | pəkʰāreke | pəkʰāreke | pəkʰāreke | pəkʰāreko | pəkʰāreke | pəkʰāreke | Wash |
| 25. | cəmkaweke | cəmkawek e | cəmkaweke | cəmkawek o | cəmkaweke | cəmkawek e | Cause to glitter |

Weapons: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | hə̃tʰ hətʰiār | hə̃tʰ hətʰiār | hə̃tʰ hətʰiār | hə̃tʰ hətʰiār | hə̃tʰ hətʰiār | hə̃tʰ hətʰiār | Weapons |
| 2. | cʰəRĩ | cʰəRĩ | cʰəRĩ | cʰəRĩ | cʰəRĩ | cʰəRĩ | Cane |
| 3. | gojĩ | gojĩ | gojĩ | gojĩ | gojĩ | gojĩ | Stick |
| 4. | lāTʰĩ | lāTʰĩ | lāTʰĩ | lāTʰĩ | lāTʰĩ | lāTʰĩ | Mace |
| 5. | guletĩ | guletĩ | guletĩ | guletĩ | guletĩ | guletĩ | Whirligig |
| 6. | koRā | koRā | koRā | koRā | koRā | koRā | Whip |
| 7. | dʰənuhĩ | dʰənuhĩ | dʰənuhĩ | dʰənuhĩ | dʰənuhĩ | dʰənuhĩ | Bow |
| 8. | tĩr | tĩr | tĩr | tĩr | tĩr | tĩr | Arrow |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | tɪ̄r ke nok$^{h}$ | tɪ̄r ke nok$^{h}$ | tɪ̄r ke nok$^{h}$ | tɪ̄r ke nok$^{h}$ | tɪ̄r ke nok$^{h}$ | tɪ̄r ke nok$^{h}$ | Arrow-head |
| 10. | b$^{h}$ālā | b$^{h}$ālā | b$^{h}$ālā | b$^{h}$ālā | b$^{h}$ālā | b$^{h}$ālā | Javelin |
| 11. | Tāŋ̄ | Tāŋ̄ | Tāŋ̄ | Tāŋ̄ | Tāŋ̄ | Tāŋ̄ | Axe |
| 12. | bərc$^{h}$ī̄ | bərc$^{h}$ī̄ | bərc$^{h}$ī̄ | bərc$^{h}$ī̄ | bərc$^{h}$ī̄ | bərc$^{h}$ī̄ | Spear |
| 13. | cəkkū | cəkkū | cəkkū | cəkkū | cəkkū | cəkkū | Knife |
| 14. | c$^{h}$urī̄ | c$^{h}$uRī̄ | c$^{h}$uRī̄ | c$^{h}$uRī̄ | c$^{h}$uRī̄ | c$^{h}$uRī̄ | Knife |
| 15. | tərwār | təruwār | təruwār | təruwār | təruwār | təruwār | Sword |
| 16. | myān | myān | myān | myān | myān | myān | Sheath |
| 17. | hə̃suā | hə̃suā | hə̃suā | hə̃suā | hə̃suā | hə̃suā | Sickle |
| 18. | bənsī̄ | bənsī̄ | bənsī̄ | bənsī̄ | bənsī̄ | bənsī̄ | Hook |
| 19. | p$^{h}$ānī̄ | p$^{h}$ānī̄ | p$^{h}$ānī̄ | p$^{h}$ānī̄ | p$^{h}$ānī̄ | p$^{h}$ānī̄ | Trap |
| 20. | DoRī̄ | DoRī̄ | DoRī̄ | DoRī̄ | DoRī̄ | DoRī̄ | Cord |
| 21. | jāb | jāb | jāb | jāb | jāb | jāb | Mouth-cover |
| 22. | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | Bag |
| 23. | jāl | jāl | jāl | jāl | jāl | jāl | Net |
| 24. | sikəR | sikəR | sikəR | sikəR | sikəR | sikəR | Chain |
| 25. | nel | nel | nel | nel | nel | nel | Shackle |
| 26. | nohkāTā | nəohkāTā | nəohkāTā | nəohkāTā | nəohkāTā | nəohkāTā | Nail-cutter |
| 27. | dətuən | dətuən | dətuən | dətuən | dətuən | dətuən | Toothbrush of twig |
| 28. | burus | burus | burus | burus | burus | burus | Brush |
| 29. | suī̄ | suī̄ | suī̄ | suī̄ | suī̄ | suī̄ | Needle |
| 30. | məsin | məsin | məsin | məsin | məsin | məsin | Machine |

Weapons: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kəTnihār | kəTnihār | kəTnihār | kəTnihār | kəTnihār | kəTnihār | Cutter |
| 2. | pəc$^{h}$əniā | pəc$^{h}$əniā | pəc$^{h}$əniā | pəc$^{h}$əniā | pəc$^{h}$əniā | pəc$^{h}$əniā | Vaccinator |
| 3. | T$^{h}$oknihār | T$^{h}$oknihār | T$^{h}$oknihār | T$^{h}$oknihār | T$^{h}$oknihār | T$^{h}$oknihār | Hitter |
| 4. | piTnihār | piTnihār | piTnihār | piTnihār | piTnihār | piTnihār | Beater |
| 5. | cirnihār | cirnihār | cirnihār | cirnihār | cirnihār | cirnihār | Sawyer |
| 6. | k$^{h}$ənnihār | k$^{h}$ənnihār | k$^{h}$ənnihār | k$^{h}$ənnihār | k$^{h}$ənnihār | k$^{h}$ənnihār | Digger |
| 7. | bən$^{h}$nihār | bən$^{h}$nihār | bən$^{h}$nihār | bən$^{h}$nihār | bən$^{h}$nihār | bən$^{h}$nihār | Tier |
| 8. | əgp$^{h}$ũkwā | əgp$^{h}$ũkwā | əgp$^{h}$ũkwā | əgp$^{h}$ũkwā | əgp$^{h}$ũkwā | əgp$^{h}$ũkwā | Fire-blower |
| 9. | tejəunihār | tejəunihār | tejəunihār | sān cəð$^{h}$aw ewālā | pijəunihār | tejəunihār | Sharpener |
| 10. | cok$^{h}$ | cok$^{h}$ | cok$^{h}$ | cok$^{h}$ | cok$^{h}$ | cok$^{h}$ | Sharp |
| 11. | b$^{h}$õt$^{h}$ | b$^{h}$õt$^{h}$ | b$^{h}$õt$^{h}$ | b$^{h}$õt$^{h}$ā | b$^{h}$õt$^{h}$ | b$^{h}$õt$^{h}$ | Blunt |
| 12. | D$^{h}$elwāhā | D$^{h}$elwāhā | D$^{h}$elwāhā | D$^{h}$elwāhā | D$^{h}$elwāhā | D$^{h}$elwāhā | Clod-shooter |
| 13. | kodərwāhā | kodərwāhā | kodərwāhā | kodərwāhā | kodərwāhā | kodərwāhā | Spade-handler |
| 14. | sikārī̄ | sikārī̄ | sikārī̄ | sikārī̄ | sikārī̄ | sikārī̄ | Hunter |
| 15. | TẽD$^{h}$ | TẽD$^{h}$ | TẽD$^{h}$ | TẽD$^{h}$ā | TẽD$^{h}$ | TẽD$^{h}$ | Curved |

Musical Instruments: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | mānər | mānər | mānər | mānər | mānər | mānər | Tabor |
| 2. | nəgārā | nəgārā | nəgārā | nəgārā | nəgārā | nəgārā | Large drum |
| 3. | D$^{h}$ol | D$^{h}$ol | D$^{h}$ol | D$^{h}$ol | D$^{h}$ol | D$^{h}$ol | Drum |
| 4. | g$^{h}$ənTī̄ | g$^{h}$ənTī̄ | g$^{h}$ənTī̄ | g$^{h}$ənTī̄ | g$^{h}$ənTī̄ | g$^{h}$ənTī̄ | Bell |
| 5. | j$^{h}$āl | j$^{h}$āl | j$^{h}$āl | j$^{h}$āl | j$^{h}$āl | j$^{h}$āl | Cymbal |
| 6. | bə̃sulī̄ | bə̃sulī̄ | bə̃sulī̄ | bə̃sulī̄ | bə̃sulī̄ | bə̃sulī̄ | Flute |
| 7. | murəlī̄ | murəlī̄ | murəlī̄ | murəlī̄ | murəlī̄ | murəlī̄ | Pipe |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | səŋkʰ | səŋkʰ | səŋkʰ | səŋkʰ | səŋkʰ | səŋkʰ | Shell |
| 9. | Timkɨ̄ | Timkɨ̄ | Timkɨ̄ | Timkɨ̄ | Timkɨ̄ | Timkɨ̄ | Small drum |
| 10. | səhnāɨ̄ | səhnāɨ̄ | səhnāɨ̄ | səhnāɨ̄ | səhnāɨ̄ | səhnāɨ̄ | Clarion |
| 11. | siŋʰā | siŋʰā | siŋʰā | siŋʰā | siŋʰā | siŋʰā | Trumpet |
| 12. | hərmuniā | hərmuniā | hərmuniā | hərmuniā | hərmuniā | hərmuniā | Harmonium |
| 13. | təblā | təblā | təblā | təblā | təblā | təblā | Small tambourine |
| 14. | belā | belā | belā | belā | belā | belā | Violin |
| 15. | sārŋɨ̄ | sārŋɨ̄ | sārŋɨ̄ | sārŋɨ̄ | sārŋɨ̄ | sārŋɨ̄ | Lute |

Musical Instruments: Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bājewālā | bājewālā | bājewālā | bājewālā | bājewālā | bājewālā | Musician |
| 2. | bəjəunihār | bəjəunihār | bəjəunihār | bəjəunihār | bəjəunihār | bəjəunihār | Musician |
| 3. | Tʰoknihār | Tʰoknihār | Tʰoknihār | Tʰoknihār | Tʰoknihār | Tʰoknihār | Beater |
| 4. | jʰənkewālā | jʰənkewālā | jʰənkewālā | jʰənkewālā | jʰənkewālā | jʰənkewālā | Jinglier |
| 5. | pʰūknihār | pʰūknihār | pʰūknihār | pʰūknihār | pʰūknihār | pʰūknihār | Blower |
| 6. | mridəŋɨ̄ | mridəŋɨ̄ | mridəŋɨ̄ | mridəŋɨ̄ | mridəŋɨ̄ | mridəŋɨ̄ | Drummer |
| 7. | TʰeTʰəunih ār | TʰeTʰəunih ār | TʰeTʰəunih ār | TʰeTʰəunih ār | TʰeTʰəunih ār | TʰeTʰəunih ār | Beater |
| 8. | Ternihār | Ternihār | Ternihār | Ternihār | Ternihār | Ternihār | Tuner |
| 9. | kəRkəs | kəRkəs | kəRkəs | kəRkəs | kəRkəs | kəRkəs | Harsh |
| 10. | mədʰur | mədʰur | mədʰur | mədʰur | mədʰur | mədʰur | Mild |
| 11. | kəRā | kəRā | kəRā | kəRā | kəRā | kəRā | Hard |
| 12. | mədʰim | mədʰim | mədʰim | mədʰim | mədʰim | mədʰim | Medium |
| 13. | tālwālā | tālwālā | tālwālā | tālwālā | tālwālā | tālwālā | Rhythmic |
| 14. | surwālā | surwālā | surwālā | surwālā | surwālā | surwālā | Tuned |
| 15. | nəgārcɨ̄ | nəgārcɨ̄ | nəgārcɨ̄ | nəgārcɨ̄ | nəgārcɨ̄ | nəgārcɨ̄ | Drummer |

Musical Instruments: Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | bəjaweke | bəjaweke | bəjaweke | bəjaweko | bəjaweke | bəjaweke | Ring |
| 2. | bājeke | bājeke | bājeke | bājeko | bājeke | bājeke | Ring |
| 3. | suneke | suneke | suneke | suneko | suneke | suneke | Listen |
| 4. | sunaeke | sunaeke | sunaeke | sunaeko | sunaeke | sunaeke | Be listened |
| 5. | sunaweke | sunaweke | sunaweke | sunaweko | sunaweke | sunaweke | Cause to listen |
| 6. | jʰənkeke | jʰənkeke | jʰənkeke | jʰənkeko | jʰənkeke | jʰənkeke | Jingle |
| 7. | pʰunkeke | pʰunkeke | pʰunkeke | pʰunkeko | pʰunkeke | pʰunkeke | Blow |
| 8. | Tʰokeke | Tʰokeke | Tʰokeke | Tʰokeko | Tʰokeke | Tʰokeke | Hit |
| 9. | Tereke | Tereke | Tereke | Tereko | Tereke | Tereke | Tune |
| 10. | tʰəpəRɨ̄ bəjaweke | tʰəpəRɨ̄ bəjaweke | tʰəpəRɨ̄ bəjaweke | tʰəpəRɨ̄ bəjaweke | tʰəpəRɨ̄ bəjaweke | tʰəpəRɨ̄ bəjaweke | Clap |

Food Items: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | dāl | dāl | dāl | dāl | dāl | dāl | Pulse |
| 2. | bʰāt | bʰāt | bʰāt | bʰāt | bʰāt | bʰāt | Boiled rice |
| 3. | cāur | cāur | cāur | cāur | cāur | cāur | Rice |
| 4. | māR | māR | māR | māR | māR | māR | Starch |
| 5. | jʰor/rəs | jʰor/rəs | jʰor/rəs | jʰor/rəs | jʰor/rəs | jʰor/rəs | Soup |
| 6. | nun | nun | nun | nun | nun | nun | Salt |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | tel | tel | tel | tel | tel | tel | Oil |
| 8. | məsālā | məsālā | məsālā | məsālā | məsālā | məsālā | Spices |
| 9. | səgəutĩ/mãs | səgəutĩ/mã s | səgəutĩ/mãs | gost | gos | səgəutĩ/mã s | Meat |
| 10. | sugər ke mãs | sugər ke mãs | sugər ke mãs | sugər kā gost | sugər ke mãs | sugər ke mãs | Pork |
| 11. | cirəĩ ke mãs | cirəĩ ke mãs | cirəĩ ke mãs | cirəĩ kā gost | cirəĩ ke mãs | cirəĩ ke mãs | Chicken |
| 12. | $k^həsĩ/b^hẽRā$ ke mãs | $k^həsĩ/b^hẽR$ ā ke mãs | $k^həsĩ/b^hẽRā$ ke mãs | $k^həsĩ/b^hẽR$ ā kā gost | $k^həsĩ/b^hẽRā$ ke mãs | $k^həsĩ/b^hẽR$ ā ke mãs | Mutton |
| 13. | $dud^h$ | $dud^h$ | $dud^h$ | $dud^h$ | $dud^h$ | $dud^h$ | Milk |
| 14. | cāy | cāy | cāy | cāy | cāy | cāy | Tea |
| 15. | dārū | dārū | dārū | dārū | dārū | dārū | Wine |
| 16. | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | Egg |
| 17. | $k^hĩr$ | $k^hĩr$ | $k^hĩr$ | $k^hĩr$ | $k^hĩr$ | $k^hĩr$ | Pudding |
| 18. | roTĩ | roTĩ | roTĩ | roTĩ | roTĩ | roTĩ | Chapatti |
| 19. | purĩ | purĩ | purĩ | purĩ | purĩ | purĩ | Dip-fried chapatti |
| 20. | $b^həb^hərā$ | $b^həb^hərā$ | $b^həb^hərā$ | $b^həb^hərā$ | $b^həb^hərā$ | $b^həb^hərā$ | fried-Chapatti with pulse in it |
| 21. | həluwā | həluwā | həluwā | həluwā | həluwā | həluwā | Porridge |
| 22. | jilebĩ | jilebĩ | jilebĩ | jilebĩ | jilebĩ | jilebĩ | Circular shaped dip-fried sweetmeat |
| 23. | məlpuā | məlpuā | məlpuā | məlpuā | məlpuā | məlpuā | Wafer |
| 24. | ənərsā | ənərsā | ənərsā | ənərsā | ənərsā | ənərsā | Sweet-meat |
| 25. | pāRukiā | pāRukiā | pāRukiā | pẽRukiā | pāRukiā | pāRukiā | Sweet momo |

Food Items: Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kãc | kãc | kãc | kəccā | kãc | kãc | Unripe/ uncooked |
| 2. | $nin^həl$ | $nin^həl$ | $nin^həl$ | pəkawā | $nin^həl$ | $nin^həl$ | Cooked |
| 3. | pəkawəl | pəkawəl | pəkawəl | pəkawā | pəkawəl | pəkawəl | Ripened |
| 4. | pākəl | pākəl | pākəl | pākā | pākəl | pākəl | Ripe |
| 5. | TəTkā | TəTkā | TəTkā | TəTkā | TəTkā | TəTkā | Fresh |
| 6. | bəsiā | bəsiā | bəsiā | bəsiā | bəsiā | bəsiā | Stale |
| 7. | $T^həND^hā$ | $T^həND^hā$ | $T^həND^hā$ | $T^həND^hā$ | $T^həND^hā$ | $T^həND^hā$ | Cold |
| 8. | $d^hikəl$ | $d^hikəl$ | $d^hikəl$ | gərəm | $d^hikəl$ | $d^hikəl$ | Warm |
| 9. | kãsəhā | kãsəhā | kãsəhā | kãsəhā | kãsəhā | kãsəhā | Astringent |
| 10. | tĩt | tĩt | tĩt | tĩtā | tĩt | tĩt | Hot/bitter |
| 11. | $k^həTTā$ | $k^həTTā$ | $k^həTTā$ | $k^həTTā$ | $k^həTTā$ | $k^həTTā$ | Sour |
| 12. | $miT^h$ | $miT^h$ | $miT^h$ | $miT^hā$ | $miT^h$ | $miT^h$ | Sweet |
| 13. | $b^hũjəl$ | $b^hũjəl$ | $b^hũjəl$ | $b^hunā$ | $b^hũjəl$ | $b^hũjəl$ | Fried |
| 14. | $c^heũkəl$ | $c^heũkəl$ | $c^heũkəl$ | $bəg^hārā$ | $c^heũkəl$ | $c^heũkəl$ | Sizzled |
| 15. | tārəl | tārəl | tārəl | tārā | tārəl | tārəl | Dip-fried |
| 16. | sekəl | sekəl | sekəl | sekā | sekəl | sekəl | Roast |
| 17. | telāh | telāh | telāh | telāhā | telāh | telāh | Oily |
| 18. | nungər | nungər | nungər | nungərā | nungər | nungər | Salty |
| 19. | $p^hĩkā$ | $p^hĩkā$ | $p^hĩkā$ | $p^hĩkā$ | $p^hĩkā$ | $p^hĩkā$ | Faint |
| 20. | gil | gil | gil | gilā | gil | gil | Watery |
| 21. | $kāT^hil$ | $kāT^hil$ | $kāT^hil$ | $kāT^hilā$ | $kāT^hil$ | $kāT^hil$ | Coarse |
| 22. | jəməl | jəməl | jəməl | jāmā | jəməl | jəməl | Frozen |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23. | səRəl | səRəl | səRəl | səRā | səRəl | səRəl | Rotten |
| 24. | məhkəl | məhkəl | məhkəl | məhkā | məhkəl | məhkəl | Stinking |
| 25. | səwədgər | səwədgər | səwədgər | səwədgərā | səwədgər | səwədgər | Tasty |
| 26. | besəwād | besəwād | besəwād | besəwād | besəwād | besəwād | Tasteless |
| 27. | bigRəl | bigRəl | bigRəl | bigRā | bigRəl | bigRəl | Spoilt |
| 28. | usinəl | usinəl | usinəl | usinā | usinəl | usinəl | Boiled |
| 29. | dʰikawəl | dʰikawəl | dʰikawəl | dʰikawā | dʰikawəl | dʰikawəl | Heated |
| 30. | pʰāTəl | pʰāTəl | pʰāTəl | pʰāTā | pʰāTəl | pʰāTəl | Torn |
| 31. | pənigər | pənigər | pənigər | pəniāhā | pənigər | pənigər | Watery |
| 32. | rəsgər | rəsgər | rəsgər | rəsgərā | rəsgər | rəsgər | Juicy |
| 33. | gəmkəuā | gəmkəuā | gəmkəuā | gəmkəuā | gəmkəuā | gəmkəuā | Smelling |
| 34. | cikən | cikən | cikən | ciknā | cikən | cikən | Plain |
| 35. | bʰũjəwTā | bʰũjəwTā | bʰũjəwTā | bʰũjəwTā | bʰũjəwTā | bʰũjəwTā | Fried |

Food Items: Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kʰaeke | kʰaeke | kʰaeke | kʰaeko | kʰaeke | kʰaeke | Eat |
| 2. | pieke | pieke | pieke | pieko | pieke | pieke | Drink |
| 3. | kʰiaweke | kʰiaweke | kʰiaweke | kʰiaweko | kʰiaweke | kʰiaweke | Feed |
| 4. | cuseke | cuseke | cuseke | cuseko | cuseke | cuseke | Suck |
| 5. | TukRiawek e | TukRiawek e | TukRiawek e | TukRiawek e | TukRiawek e | TukRiawek e | Cut into pieces |
| 6. | bãTeke | bãTeke | bãTeke | bãTeko | bãTeke | bãTeke | Distribute |
| 7. | pəroseke | pəroseke | pəroseke | pəroseko | pəroseke | pəroseke | Serve |
| 8. | əgʰaeke | əgʰaeke | əgʰaeke | əgʰaeko | əgʰaeke | əgʰaeke | Satiate |
| 9. | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeko | cəRʰeke | cəRʰeke | Climb |
| 10. | sərkeke | sərkeke | sərkeke | sərkeko | sərkeke | sərkeke | Choke |
| 11. | bicʰeke | bicʰeke | bicʰeke | bicʰeko | bicʰeke | bicʰeke | Collect |
| 12. | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeko | pʰəTkeke | pʰəTkeke | Sift out |
| 13. | piseke | piseke | piseke | piseko | piseke | piseke | Grind |
| 14. | cāleke | cāleke | cāleke | cāleko | cāleke | cāleke | Filter |
| 15. | bʰĩjeke | bʰĩjeke | bʰĩjeke | bʰĩjeko | bʰĩjeke | bʰĩjeke | Wet |
| 16. | pʰẽTeke | pʰẽTeke | pʰẽTeke | pʰẽTeko | pʰẽTeke | pʰẽTeke | Mix |
| 17. | sāneke | sāneke | sāneke | sāneko | sāneke | sāneke | Knead |
| 18. | beleke | beleke | beleke | beleko | beleke | beleke | Roll |
| 19. | ciptā kəreke | ciptā kəreke | ciptā kəreke | ciptā kəreko | ciptā kəreke | ciptā kəreke | Flatten |
| 20. | pereke | pereke | pereke | pereko | pereke | pereke | Press |
| 21. | kuTeke | kuTeke | kuTeke | kuTeko | kuTeke | kuTeke | Beat |
| 22. | cʰileke | cʰileke | cʰileke | cʰileko | cʰileke | cʰileke | Peel |
| 23. | ugʰāreke | ugʰāreke | ugʰāreke | ugʰāreko | ugʰāreke | ugʰāreke | Uncover |
| 24. | cʰoRaweke | cʰoRaweke | cʰoRaweke | cʰoRaweko | cʰoRaweke | cʰoRaweke | Separate |
| 25. | cʰalʰĩ kāTeke | cʰalʰĩ kāTeke | cʰalʰĩ kāTeke | cʰalʰĩ kāTeko | cʰalʰĩ kāTeke | cʰalʰĩ kāTeke | Abutter |
| 26. | gāreke | gāreke | gāreke | gāreko | gāreke | gāreke | Squeeze |
| 27. | cʰāneke | cʰāneke | cʰāneke | cʰāneko | cʰāneke | cʰāneke | Filter |
| 28. | dāru cuaweke | dāru cuaweke | dāru cuaweke | dāru cuaweko | dāru cuaweke | dāru cuaweke | Distillate wine |
| 29. | cʰeũkeke | cʰeũkeke | cʰeũkeke | cʰeũkeko | cʰeũkeke | cʰeũkeke | Sizzle |
| 30. | cəlaweke | cəlaweke | cəlaweke | cəlaweko | cəlaweke | cəlaweke | Stir |
| 31. | cueke | cueke | cueke | cueko | cueke | cueke | Drip |
| 32. | bʰəreke | bʰəreke | bʰəreke | bʰəreko | bʰəreke | bʰəreke | Fill |
| 33. | giraweke | giraweke | giraweke | giraweko | giraweke | giraweke | Drop |
| 34. | kʰālĩ | kʰālĩ | kʰālĩ | kʰālĩ | kʰālĩ | kʰālĩ | Empty |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | kəreke | kəreke | kəreke | kəreko | kəreke | kəreke | |
| 35. | əjwāreke | əjwāreke | əjwāreke | əjwāreko | əjwāreke | əjwāreke | Shift sth to empty a can |
| 36. | Dubeke | Dubeke | Dubeke | Dubeko | Dubeke | Dubeke | Sink |
| 37. | Dubaweke | Dubaweke | Dubaweke | Dubaweko | Dubaweke | Dubaweke | Cause to sink |
| 38. | pātər kəreke | pātər kəreke | pātər kəreke | pātər kəreko | pātər kəreke | pātər kəreke | Thin/Dilute |
| 39. | gʰoreke | gʰoreke | gʰoreke | gʰoreko | gʰoreke | gʰoreke | Liquidate |
| 40. | topeke | topeke | topeke | topeko | topeke | topeke | Cover |
| 41. | kʰāneke | kʰāneke | kʰāneke | kʰāneko | kʰāneke | kʰāneke | Beat |
| 42. | nāpeke | nāpeke | nāpeke | nāpeko | nāpeke | nāpeke | Measure |
| 43. | muneke | muneke | muneke | muneko | muneke | muneke | Block |
| 44. | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeko | pʰẽkeke | pʰẽkeke | Throw |
| 45. | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweko | bə̃caweke | bə̃caweke | Save/protect |
| 46. | hə̃uReke | hə̃uReke | hə̃uReke | hə̃uReko | hə̃uReke | hə̃uReke | Stir |
| 47. | udʰiaeke | udʰiaeke | udʰiaeke | udʰiaeko | udʰiaeke | udʰiaeke | Bubble |
| 48. | usineke | usineke | usineke | usineko | usineke | usineke | Boil |
| 49. | pākeke | pākeke | pākeke | pākeko | pākeke | pākeke | Cook/ripen |
| 50. | ninʰeke | ninʰeke | ninʰeke | ninʰeko | ninʰeke | ninʰeke | Cook |

Village & Towns: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | gə̃w | gə̃w | gə̃w | gə̃w | gə̃w | gə̃w | Village |
| 2. | pəros | pəros | pəros | pəros | pəros | pəros | Neighborhood |
| 3. | səhər | səhər | səhər | səhər | səhər | səhər | Town |
| 4. | Tolā | Tolā | Tolā | Tolā | Tolā | Tolā | Locality |
| 5. | kəcəhərĩ | kəcəhərĩ | kəcəhərĩ | kəcəhərĩ | kəcəhərĩ | kəcəhərĩ | Court |
| 6. | tʰānā | tʰānā | tʰānā | tʰānā | tʰānā | tʰānā | Police Station |
| 7. | cəukĩ | cəukĩ | cəukĩ | cəukĩ | cəukĩ | cəukĩ | Police Post |
| 8. | jʰõpəRĩ | jʰõpəRĩ | jʰõpəRĩ | jʰõpəRĩ | jʰõpəRĩ | jʰõpəRĩ | Hut |
| 9. | məcān | məcān | məcān | məcān | məcān | məcān | Scaffold |
| 10. | məkān | məkān | məkān | məkān | məkān | məkān | Concrete building |
| 11. | kəccā gʰər | kəccā gʰər | kəccā gʰər | kəccā gʰər | kəccā gʰər | kəccā gʰər | Canvas house |
| 12. | pʰus ke gʰər | pʰus ke gʰər | pʰus ke gʰər | pʰus ke gʰər | pʰus ke gʰər | pʰus ke gʰər | Thatched roof house |
| 13. | pəhərā gʰər | pəhərā gʰər | pəhərā gʰər | pəhərā gʰər | pəhərā gʰər | pəhərā gʰər | Guard house |
| 14. | pustəkāləy | pustəkāləy | pustəkāləy | pustəkāləy | pustəkāləy | pustəkāləy | Library |
| 15. | cʰātrāwās | cʰātrāwās | cʰātrāwās | cʰātrāwās | cʰātrāwās | cʰātrāwās | Hostel |
| 16. | āwās | āwās | āwās | āwās | āwās | āwās | Residence |
| 17. | kʷāTər | kʷāTər | kʷāTər | kʷāTər | kʷāTər | kʷāTər | Quarter |
| 18. | nijĩ gʰər | nijĩ gʰər | nijĩ gʰər | nijĩ gʰər | nijĩ gʰər | nijĩ gʰər | Private house |
| 19. | məndir | məndir | məndir | məndir | məndir | məndir | Temple |
| 20. | guTʰĩ | guTʰĩ | guTʰĩ | guTʰĩ | guTʰĩ | guTʰĩ | Trust |
| 21. | māĩ ātʰān | māĩ ātʰān | māĩ ātʰān | māĩ ātʰān | māĩ ātʰān | māĩ ātʰān | Goddess Temple |
| 22. | sivə məndir | sivə məndir | sivə məndir | sivə məndir | sivə məndir | sivə məndir | Shiva temple |
| 23. | nāc gʰər | nāc gʰər | nāc gʰər | nāc gʰər | nāc gʰər | nāc gʰər | Theatre |
| 24. | sərāy | sərāy | sərāy | sərāy | sərāy | sərāy | Inn |
| 25. | cʰāuni | cʰāuni | cʰāuni | cʰāuni | cʰāuni | cʰāuni | Military base |

Dress: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | lugā/kəpRā | lugā/kəpRā | lugā/kəpRā | lugā/kəpRā | lugā/kəpRā | lugā/kəpRā | Cloth |
| 2. | ruĩ | ruĩ | ruĩ | ruĩ | ruĩ | ruĩ | Cotton |
| 3. | gɛ̃T$^{h}$rĩ | gɛ̃T$^{h}$rĩ | gɛ̃T$^{h}$rĩ | gɛ̃T$^{h}$rĩ | gɛ̃T$^{h}$rĩ | gɛ̃T$^{h}$rĩ | Knot |
| 4. | sutkətənĩ | sutkətənĩ | sutkətənĩ | sutkətənĩ | sutkətənĩ | sutkətənĩ | Yarn-spinner |
| 5. | sən | sən | sən | sən | sən | sən | Hemp |
| 6. | kəmĩj | kəmĩj | kəmĩj | kəmĩj | kəmĩj | kəmĩj | Shirt |
| 7. | colĩ | colĩ | colĩ | j$^{h}$ulā | colĩ | colĩ | Blouse |
| 8. | d$^{h}$āgā | d$^{h}$āgā | d$^{h}$āgā | Dorā | d$^{h}$āgā | d$^{h}$āgā | Thread |
| 9. | ləŋəuTĩ | ləŋəuTĩ | ləŋəuTĩ | ləŋəuTā | ləŋəuTĩ | ləŋəuTĩ | Loincloth |
| 10. | mərdānĩ | mərdānĩ | mərdānĩ | mərdānĩ | mərdānĩ | mərdānĩ | Cloth worn round waist |
| 11. | luŋĩ | luŋĩ | luŋĩ | luŋĩ | luŋĩ | luŋĩ | Cloth wrapped round waist |
| 12. | sāRĩ | sāRĩ | sāRĩ | sāRĩ | sāRĩ | sāRĩ | Sari |
| 13. | jāmā | jāmā | jāmā | jāmā | jāmā | jāmā | Shirt |
| 14. | d$^{h}$otĩ | d$^{h}$otĩ | d$^{h}$otĩ | d$^{h}$otĩ | d$^{h}$otĩ | d$^{h}$otĩ | Cloth worn round waist |
| 15. | dupəTTā | dupəTTā | dupəTTā | dupəTTā | dupəTTā | dupəTTā | Shawl |
| 16. | pəgərĩ | pəgərĩ | pəgərĩ | pəgərĩ | pəgərĩ | pəgərĩ | Turban |
| 17. | Topĩ | Topĩ | Topĩ | Topĩ | Topĩ | Topĩ | Cap |
| 18. | gulbend | gulbend | gulbend | gulbend | gulbend | gulbend | Muffler |
| 19. | surwāl | surwāl | surwāl | surwāl | surwāl | surwāl | Trousers |
| 20. | kəTuk | kəTuk | kəTuk | kəc$^{h}$iā | kəTuk | kəTuk | Underwear |

Dress: Adjectives

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | New |
| 2. | purān | purān | purān | purān | purān | purān | Old |
| 3. | sāp$^{h}$ | sāp$^{h}$ | sāp$^{h}$ | sāp$^{h}$ | sāp$^{h}$ | sāp$^{h}$ | Clean |
| 4. | məil | məil | məil | məilā | məil | məil | Dirty |
| 5. | ūnĩ | ūnĩ | ūnĩ | ūnĩ | ūnĩ | ūnĩ | Woolen |
| 6. | sutĩ | sutĩ | sutĩ | sutĩ | sutĩ | sutĩ | Cotton |
| 7. | ruk$^{h}$ər | ruk$^{h}$ər | ruk$^{h}$ər | ruk$^{h}$ər | ruk$^{h}$ər | ruk$^{h}$ər | Rough |
| 8. | mehin | mehin | mehin | mehin | mehin | mehin | Soft |
| 9. | cikən | cikən | cikən | sut$^{h}$rā | cikən | cikən | Smooth |
| 10. | bəriyār | bəriyār | bəriyār | bəriyār | bəriyār | bəriyār | Strong |
| 11. | siəl | siəl | siəl | siā | siəl | siəl | Sewn |
| 12. | ug$^{h}$rəl | ug$^{h}$rəl | ug$^{h}$rəl | ug$^{h}$rā | ug$^{h}$rəl | ug$^{h}$rəl | Unwoven |
| 13. | pewən joRəl | pewən joRəl | pewən joRəl | pewən joRā | pewən joRəl | pewən joRəl | Patched |
| 14. | buTTedār | buTTedār | buTTedār | buTTedār | buTTedār | buTTedār | Hemmed |
| 15. | p$^{h}$āTəl | p$^{h}$āTəl | p$^{h}$āTəl | p$^{h}$āTā | p$^{h}$āTəl | p$^{h}$āTəl | Torn |
| 16. | rəŋəl | rəŋəl | rəŋəl | rəŋā | rəŋəl | rəŋəl | Coloured |
| 17. | d$^{h}$oəl | d$^{h}$oəl | d$^{h}$oəl | d$^{h}$oā | d$^{h}$oəl | d$^{h}$oəl | Washed |
| 18. | p$^{h}$ārəl | p$^{h}$ārəl | p$^{h}$ārəl | p$^{h}$ārā | p$^{h}$ārəl | p$^{h}$ārəl | Torn |
| 19. | binəl | binəl | binəl | binā | binəl | binəl | Knitted |
| 20. | kəsəl | kəsəl | kəsəl | kəsā | kəsəl | kəsəl | Tight |

Dress: Verbs

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | lugā penheke | lugā penheke | lugā penheke | lugā penheko | lugā penheke | lugā penheke | Dress |
| 2. | lugā bədleke | lugā bədleke | lugā bədleke | lugā bədleko | lugā bədleke | lugā bədleke | Change |
| 3. | kəseke | kəseke | kəseke | kəseko | kəseke | kəseke | Tighten |
| 4. | $D^{h}$ilā kəreke | $D^{h}$ilā kəreke | $D^{h}$ilā kəreke | $D^{h}$ilā kəreko | $D^{h}$ilā kəreke | $D^{h}$ilā kəreke | Loosen |
| 5. | sərkāweke | sərkāweke | sərkāweke | sərkāweko | sərkāweke | sərkāweke | Remove |
| 6. | bānheke | bānheke | bānheke | bānheko | bānheke | bānheke | Bind |
| 7. | $k^{h}$oleke | $k^{h}$oleke | $k^{h}$oleke | $k^{h}$oleko | $k^{h}$oleke | $k^{h}$oleke | Open |
| 8. | $p^{h}$əTkāreke | $p^{h}$əTkāreke | $p^{h}$əTkāreke | $p^{h}$əTkāreko | $p^{h}$əTkāreke | $p^{h}$əTkāreke | Beat |
| 9. | sut kāTeke | sut kāTeke | sut kāTeke | sut kāTeko | sut kāTeke | sut kāTeke | Spin |
| 10. | bãTeke | bãTeke | bãTeke | bãTeko | bãTeke | bãTeke | Twist |
| 11. | ləpeTeke | ləpeTeke | ləpeTeke | ləpeTeko | ləpeTeke | ləpeTeke | Cover |
| 12. | ləmrāweke | ləmrāweke | ləmrāweke | ləmrāweko | ləmrāweke | ləmrāweke | Lengthen |
| 13. | bineke | bineke | bineke | bineko | bineke | bineke | Knit |
| 14. | rəŋeke | rəŋeke | rəŋeke | rəŋeko | rəŋeke | rəŋeke | Colour |
| 15. | $c^{h}$āpeke | $c^{h}$āpeke | $c^{h}$āpeke | $c^{h}$āpeko | $c^{h}$āpeke | $c^{h}$āpeke | Print |
| 16. | sieke | sieke | sieke | sieko | sieke | sieke | Sew |
| 17. | $d^{h}$oeke | $d^{h}$oeke | $d^{h}$oeke | $d^{h}$oeko | $d^{h}$oeke | $d^{h}$oeke | Wash |
| 18. | $b^{h}$ĩjeke | $b^{h}$ĩjeke | $b^{h}$ĩjeke | $b^{h}$ĩjeko | $b^{h}$ĩjeke | $b^{h}$ĩjeke | Soak |
| 19. | gāreke | gāreke | gāreke | gāreko | gāreke | gāreke | Squeeze |
| 20. | rəŋ $p^{h}$āTeke | rəŋ $p^{h}$āTeke | rəŋ $p^{h}$āTeke | rəŋ $p^{h}$āTeko | rəŋ $p^{h}$āTeke | rəŋ $p^{h}$āTeke | Discolour |

Cosmetic & Ornaments: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | gəhənā | gəhənā | gəhənā | gəhənā | gəhənā | gəhənā | Ornament |
| 2. | sonā | sonā | sonā | sonā | sonā | sonā | Gold |
| 3. | cānĩ | cānĩ | cānĩ | cānĩ | cānĩ | cānĩ | Silver |
| 4. | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | tāmā | Copper |
| 5. | lohā | lohā | lohā | lohā | lohā | lohā | Iron |
| 6. | pitər | pitər | pitər | pitər | pitər | pitər | Brass |
| 7. | silwər | silwər | silwər | silwər | silwər | silwər | Aluminium |
| 8. | giləT | giləT | giləT | giləT | giləT | giləT | Bronze |
| 9. | hirā | hirā | hirā | hirā | hirā | hirā | Diamond |
| 10. | motĩ | motĩ | motĩ | motĩ | motĩ | motĩ | Pearl |
| 11. | bālā | bālā | bālā | bālā | bālā | bālā | Wrist ring |
| 12. | kəlĩ | kəlĩ | kəlĩ | kəlĩ | kəlĩ | kəlĩ | |
| 13. | hār | hār | hār | hār | hār | hār | Necklace |
| 14. | əũ$T^{h}$ĩ | əũ$T^{h}$ĩ | əũ$T^{h}$ĩ | əũ$T^{h}$ĩ | əũ$T^{h}$ĩ | əũ$T^{h}$ĩ | Ring |
| 15. | munərĩ | munərĩ | munərĩ | munərĩ | munərĩ | munərĩ | Ring |
| 16. | utārnā | utārnā | utārnā | utārnā | utārnā | utārnā | Earring |
| 17. | bālĩ | bālĩ | bālĩ | bālĩ | bālĩ | bālĩ | Earring |
| 18. | kundəl | kundəl | kundəl | kundəl | kundəl | kundəl | Earring |
| 19. | bulākĩ | bulākĩ | bulākĩ | bulākĩ | bulākĩ | bulākĩ | Nose-ring |
| 20. | $p^{h}$ulĩ | $p^{h}$ulĩ | $p^{h}$ulĩ | $p^{h}$ulĩ | $p^{h}$ulĩ | $p^{h}$ulĩ | Nose-ornament |

Reading & Writing: Nouns

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | kitāb | kitāb | kitāb | kitāb | kitāb | kitāb | Book |
| 2. | grənt$^{h}$ | grənt$^{h}$ | grənt$^{h}$ | grənt$^{h}$ | grənt$^{h}$ | grənt$^{h}$ | Book |
| 3. | kãpĩ | kãpĩ | kãpĩ | kãpĩ | kãpĩ | kãpĩ | Exercise book |
| 4. | kələm | kələm | kələm | kələm | kələm | kələm | Pen |
| 5. | rosnāĩ | rosnāĩ | rosnāĩ | rosnāĩ | rosnāĩ | rosnāĩ | Ink |
| 6. | doāt | doāt | doāt | doāt | doāt | doāt | Ink-pot |
| 7. | rehəl | rehəl | rehəl | rehəl | rehəl | rehəl | Satchel |
| 8. | jild | jild | jild | jild | jild | jild | Cover |
| 9. | pānā | pānā | pānā | pānā | pānā | pānā | Page |
| 10. | əc$^{h}$ər | əc$^{h}$ər | əc$^{h}$ər | əc$^{h}$ər | əc$^{h}$ər | əc$^{h}$ər | Letter |
| 11. | jib$^{h}$iā | jib$^{h}$iā | jib$^{h}$iā | jib$^{h}$iā | jib$^{h}$iā | jib$^{h}$iā | Tongue |
| 12. | munəhā | munəhā | munəhā | D$^{h}$əkən | munəhā | munəhā | Cover |
| 13. | k$^{h}$ol | k$^{h}$ol | k$^{h}$ol | k$^{h}$ol | k$^{h}$ol | k$^{h}$ol | Cover |
| 14. | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | j$^{h}$orā | Bag |
| 15. | kāgəj | kāgəj | kāgəj | kāgəj | kāgəj | kāgəj | Paper |
| 16. | pərcā | pərcā | pərcā | pərcā | pərcā | pərcā | Pamphlet |
| 17. | ciT$^{h}$ĩ | ciT$^{h}$ĩ | ciT$^{h}$ĩ | ciT$^{h}$ĩ | ciT$^{h}$ĩ | ciT$^{h}$ĩ | Letter |
| 18. | nibedən | nibedən | nibedən | nibedən | nibedən | nibedən | Application |
| 19. | həstəlipi | həstəlipi | həstəlipi | həstəlipi | həstəlipi | həstəlipi | Manuscript |
| 20. | pətrə | pətrə | pətrə | pətrə | pətrə | pətrə | Letter |

Swadesh's Hundred Words

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi - Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | həm | həm | həm | həm | həm | həm | I |
| 2. | tū | tū | tū | tū | tū | tū | You |
| 3. | həmnĩ | həmnĩ | həmnĩ | həmnĩ | həmnĩ | həmnĩ | We |
| 4. | ĩ | ĩ | ĩ | ĩ | ĩ | ĩ | This |
| 5. | ū | ū | ū | ū | ū | ū | That |
| 6. | kəwən | kəwən | kəwən | kəwən | kəwən | kəwən | Who |
| 7. | kā | kā | kā | kā | kā | kā | What |
| 8. | nəik$^{h}$e | nəik$^{h}$e | nəik$^{h}$e | nəik$^{h}$e | nəik$^{h}$e | nəik$^{h}$e | No |
| 9. | səb/səb$^{h}$ĩ | səb/səb$^{h}$ĩ | səb/səb$^{h}$ĩ | səb/səb$^{h}$ĩ | səb/səb$^{h}$ĩ | səb/səb$^{h}$ĩ | All |
| 10. | bəhut | bəhut | bəhut | bəhut | bəhut | bəhut | Very/many |
| 11. | ek | ek | ek | ek | ek | ek | One |
| 12. | dū | dū | dū | dū | dū | dū | Two |
| 13. | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | bəRkā | Large |
| 14. | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | lāmā | Long |
| 15. | c$^{h}$oT | c$^{h}$oT | c$^{h}$oT | c$^{h}$oT | c$^{h}$oT | c$^{h}$oT | Small/short |
| 16. | jənānā | jənānā | jənānā | jənānā | jənānā | jənānā | Female |
| 17. | mərd | mərd | mərd | mərd | mərd | mərd | Male |
| 18. | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | ādmĩ | Man |
| 19. | məc$^{h}$ərĩ | məc$^{h}$ərĩ | məc$^{h}$ərĩ | məc$^{h}$ərĩ | məc$^{h}$ərĩ | məc$^{h}$ərĩ | Fish |
| 20. | kuttā | kuttā | kuttā | kuttā | kuttā | kuttā | Dog |
| 21. | D$^{h}$il | D$^{h}$il | D$^{h}$il | juĩ | D$^{h}$il | D$^{h}$il | Lice |
| 22. | cirəĩ | cirəĩ | cirəĩ | cirəĩ | cirəĩ | cirəĩ | Bird |
| 23. | gāc$^{h}$ | gāc$^{h}$ | gāc$^{h}$ | gāc$^{h}$ | gāc$^{h}$ | gāc$^{h}$ | Tree |
| 24. | biā | biā | biā | biā | biā | biā | Seed |
| 25. | pātā | pātā | pātā | pātā | pātā | pātā | Leaf |
| 26. | jər | jər | jər | jər | jər | jər | Root/Fever |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27. | bəkloiā/ cʰilkoiā | bəkloiā/ cʰilkoiā | bəkloiā/ cʰilkoiā | bəkloiā/ cʰilkoiā | bəkloiā/ cʰilkoiā | bəkloiā/ cʰilkoiā | Bark |
| 28. | cəməRā | cəməRā | cəməRā | cəməRā | cəməRā | cəməRā | Skin |
| 29. | mãs | mãs | mãs | gost | mãs | mãs | Flesh |
| 30. | lehu | lehu | lehu | lehu | lehu | lehu | Blood |
| 31. | hāR | hāR | hāR | hāR | hāR | hāR | Bone |
| 32. | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | cərbĩ | Fat |
| 33. | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | ənDā | Egg |
| 34. | siŋʰ | siŋʰ | siŋʰ | dom | siŋʰ | siŋʰ | Horn |
| 35. | põcʰəRĩ | põcʰəRĩ | põcʰəRĩ | põcʰəRĩ | põcʰəRĩ | põcʰəRĩ | Tail |
| 36. | pãkʰ | pãkʰ | pãkʰ | pãkʰ | pãkʰ | pãkʰ | Feather |
| 37. | roã/kes | roã/kes | roã/kes | roã/kes | roã/kes | roã/kes | Hair |
| 38. | muR | muR | muR | muR | muR | muR | Head |
| 39. | kān | kān | kān | kān | kān | kān | Ear |
| 40. | ãkʰ | ãkʰ | ãkʰ | ãkʰ | ãkʰ | ãkʰ | Eye |
| 41. | nāk | nāk | nāk | nāk | nāk | nāk | Nose |
| 42. | muh | muh | muh | muh | muh | muh | Mouth |
| 43. | dãt | dãt | dãt | dãt | dãt | dãt | Tooth |
| 44. | jibʰ | jibʰ | jibʰ | jubān | jibʰ | jibʰ | Tongue |
| 45. | nəwʰ | nəwʰ | nəwʰ | nəw/new | nəwʰ | nəwʰ | Nail |
| 46. | goR | goR | goR | goR | goR | goR | Leg |
| 47. | Tʰehun | Tʰehun | Tʰehun | Tʰehunā | Tʰehun | Tʰehun | Knee |
| 48. | hãtʰ | hãtʰ | hãtʰ | hãtʰ | hãtʰ | hãtʰ | Hand |
| 49. | peT | peT | peT | peT | peT | peT | Belly/ Stomach |
| 50. | gʰẽT | gʰẽT | gʰẽT | gʰẽT | gʰẽT | gʰẽT | Neck |
| 51. | əstən | əstən | əstən | əstən | əstən | əstən | Breast |
| 52. | helā | helā | helā | helā | helā | helā | Heart |
| 53. | kərejĩ | kərejĩ | kərejĩ | kərejĩ | kərejĩ | kərejĩ | Liver |
| 54. | pieke | pieke | pieke | pieko | pieke | pieke | Drink |
| 55. | kʰāeke | kʰāeke | kʰāeke | kʰāeko | kʰāeke | kʰāeke | Eat |
| 56. | dãte kāteke | dãte kāteke | dãte kāteke | dãte kāteko | dãte kāteke | dãte kāteke | Bite |
| 57. | dekʰeke | dekʰeke | dekʰeke | dekʰeko | dekʰeke | dekʰeke | See |
| 58. | suneke | suneke | suneke | suneko | suneke | suneke | Hear/listen |
| 59. | jāneke | jāneke | jāneke | jāneko | jāneke | jāneke | Know |
| 60. | suteke | suteke | suteke | suteko | suteke | suteke | Sleep |
| 61. | məreke | məreke | məreke | məreko | məreke | məreke | Die |
| 62. | muāweke | muāweke | muāweke | muāweko | muāweke | muāweke | Kill |
| 63. | pəũReke | pəũReke | pəũReke | pəũReko | pəũReke | pəũReke | Swim |
| 64. | uReke | uReke | uReke | uReko | uReke | uReke | Fly |
| 65. | cəleke | cəleke | cəleke | cəleko | cəleke | cəleke | Walk |
| 66. | āweke | āweke | āweke | āweko | āweke | āweke | Come |
| 67. | leTeke | leTeke | leTeke | leTeko | leTeke | leTeke | Lay |
| 68. | rəheke/ bəiTʰeke | rəheke/ bəiTʰeke | rəheke/ bəiTʰeke | rəheko/ bəiTʰeko | rəheke/ bəiTʰeke | rəheke/ bəiTʰeke | Live/Sit |
| 69. | uTʰeke | uTʰeke | uTʰeke | uTʰeko | uTʰeke | uTʰeke | Stand |
| 70. | deweke | deweke | deweke | deweko | deweke | deweke | Give |
| 71. | kəheke | kəheke | kəheke | kəheko | kəheke | kəheke | Say |
| 72. | suruj | suruj | suruj | surəj | suruj | suruj | Sun |
| 73. | cənərmā | cənərmā | cənərmā | cãd | cənərmā | cənərmā | Moon |
| 74. | təregən | təregən | təregən | təregən | təregən | təregən | Star |
| 75. | pānĩ | pānĩ | pānĩ | pānĩ | pānĩ | pānĩ | Water |
| 76. | pətʰəl | pətʰəl | pətʰəl | pətʰəl | pətʰəl | pətʰəl | Stone |
| 77. | bərsā | bərsā | bərsā | bərsā | bərsā | bərsā | Rain |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78. | bālu | bālu | bālu | bālu | bālu | bālu | Sand |
| 79. | $d^h$ərtī/ $prit^h$wi | $d^h$ərtī/ $prit^h$wi | $d^h$ərtī/ $prit^h$wi | $d^h$ərtī/ $prit^h$wi | $d^h$ərtī/ $prit^h$wi | $d^h$ərtī/ $prit^h$wi | Earth |
| 80. | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | bādəl | Cloud |
| 81. | $d^h$uwã | $d^h$uwã | $d^h$uwã | $d^h$uwã | $d^h$uwã | $d^h$uwã | Smoke |
| 82. | āgī | āgī | āgī | āgī | āgī | āgī | Fire |
| 83. | rāk$^h$ | rāk$^h$ | rāk$^h$ | rāk$^h$ | rāk$^h$ | rāk$^h$ | Ash |
| 84. | jəreke/ bəreke | jəreke/ bəreke | jəreke/ bəreke | jəreko/ bəreko | jəreke/ bəreke | jəreke/ bəreke | Burn |
| 85. | rāstā | rāstā | rāstā | rāstā | rāstā | rāstā | Way |
| 86. | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | pəhāR | Mountain |
| 87. | lāl | lāl | lāl | lāl | lāl | lāl | Red |
| 88. | həriər | həriər | həriər | həriər | həriər | həriər | Green |
| 89. | piər | piər | piər | piərā | piər | piər | Yellow |
| 90. | ujər | ujər | ujər | ujərā | ujər | ujər | White |
| 91. | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | kəriā | Black |
| 92. | rāt | rāt | rāt | rāt | rāt | rāt | Night |
| 93. | tātəl | tātəl | tātəl | tātəl | tātəl | tātəl | Hot/Warm |
| 94. | $T^h$ən$D^h$ā | $T^h$ən$D^h$ā | $T^h$ən$D^h$ā | $T^h$ən$D^h$ā | $T^h$ən$D^h$ā | $T^h$ən$D^h$ā | Cold |
| 95. | $b^h$ərəl | $b^h$ərəl | $b^h$ərəl | $b^h$ərā | $b^h$ərəl | $b^h$ərəl | Full |
| 96. | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | nəyā | New |
| 97. | əsəl | əsəl | əsəl | əsəl | əsəl | əsəl | Good/ genuine |
| 98. | gol | gol | gol | golā | gol | gol | Round/Red |
| 99. | suk$^h$əl | suk$^h$əl | suk$^h$əl | suk$^h$ā | suk$^h$əl | suk$^h$əl | Dry |
| 100. | nām | nām | nām | nām | nām | nām | Name |

# Appendix-B: Basic Bhojpuri Sentences

| SN | Bara-Parsa | Bara-Rautahat | Tharu (Rautahat) | Shekh Boli (Rautahat) | Rautahat-Sarlahi | Nawalparasi-Rupandehi | English (FT) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | əpne ke nām kā h ə ? | əpne ke nām kā h ə ? | əpne ke nām kətʰi bɑ ? | torɑ nām kətʰi hə wə ? | ɑhā ke nām kətʰi b ɑ ? | rɑur nām kɑ ho ? | What is your name? |
| 2. | əpne ke gʰər kəhā bɑ ? | əpne ke gʰər kəh ā bɑ ? | əpne ke gʰər kəhā bɑ ? | torɑ gʰər kəhā hə wə ? | āhā ke gʰər kəhā b ɑ ? | rɑur gʰər kəhā ho ? | Where is your house? |
| 3. | i həmār gā̃w hə. | i həmər gā̃w hə. | i həmər gā̃w bā. | i həmrā gā̃w he. | i həmər gā̃w bāTe. | i həmār gā̃w ho. | This is our village. |
| 4. | oh din bərkʰā hot rəhe. | oh din bərkʰā hoi t rəhe. | oh din bərkʰā hol. | oh din pāni pərā rəhā. | oh din bərkʰā hoit r əhe. | oh din bərkʰā hot rəhe. | It was raining that day. |
| 5. | i həmār jutā nəikh e. | i həmər jutā nəik he. | i həmər jutā nəikhe bā. | i həmrā jutā nə h e. | i həmər jutā nə bā. | i həmār jutā nāi ho. | These are not my shoes. |
| 6. | āj gərmi hoi̅. | āj gərmi hoi̅. | āju gərmi hotəu. | āj gərmi hotwə. | āj gərmi hoi̅. | āj gərmi hoihẽ. | It will be hot today. |
| 7. | ū gʰər bəhut Tʰən Dʰā rəhe. | ū gʰər bəhut Tʰən Dʰā rəhe. | ū gʰər bəhut TʰənD ʰā rəhləi. | ū gʰər bəhut Tʰən Dʰā rəhā he. | ū gʰər bəhut TʰənD ʰā rəhe. | ū gʰər bəhut Tʰən Dʰā rəhe. | That house was very cold. |
| 8. | ū ādəmi kəwən rə he ? | ū ādəmi kəwən r əhe ? | ū ādəmi kəwən rəhl əi ? | ū ādəmi kəun rəh ā he ? | ū ādəmi kəwən rəh e ? | ū ādəmi ke rəhəl ? | Who was that man? |
| 9. | uhā gācʰ nā rəhe. | uhā gācʰ nə rəhe. | ojgā gācʰi nə rəhləi | uhā gācʰ nə rəhe. | uhā gācʰ nā rəhe. | uhā gācʰ nāi rəhə l. | There was no tree there. |
| 10. | ihā bəhut ləRkā lə Rki bāTe. | ihā bəhut ləRkā l əRki bāTe. | ihā bəhut ləRkā lə Rki həi. | ihā bəhut ləRkā l əRki he. | ihā bəhut ləRkā lə Rki bāTe. | ihā bəhut ləRkā l əRki bāTe. | There are many children here. |
| 11. | rāstā kəhā bā ? | rāstā kəhā bā ? | rāstā kəhā bā ? | rāstā kəhā he ? | rāstā kəhā bā ? | rāstā kəhā bā ? | Where is the path? |
| 12. | i nəyā kodār hə. | i nəyā kodār hə. | i nəyā kodār həū. | i nəyā kodāri he. | i nəyā kodār bāTe. | i nəyā kudār həw əy. | This is a new spade. |
| 13. | ū kodār nəikʰe. | ū kodār nəikʰe. | ū kodār nəikʰe bā. | ū kodāri nə he. | ū kodār nənu bā. | ū kudār nāi ho. | That is not a spade. |
| 14. | uhā kucʰ hālā rəh e. | uhā kucʰ hālā rə he. | uhā təikā hālā rəhe . | uhā kucʰ hālā rə he. | uhā kucʰ hālā rəhe. | uhā kucʰ hālā rə həl. | There was some noise there. |
| 15. | ihā bəhute gā̃w bā . | ihā bəhute gā̃w b ā. | ihā bəhute gā̃w bā. | ihā bəhute gā̃w h e. | ihā bəhute gā̃w bā. | ihā bəhute gā̃w b ā. | There are many villages here. |
| 16. | həmrā jāR lāgətā. | həmrā jāR ləgəit ā. | həmrā jāR lāgətā. | həmre jāR lāgət he. | həmrā jāR ləgəitā. | həm ke jāRwət b ā. | I am feeling cold. |
| 17. | ū gā̃w ləmhər rəhe . | ū gā̃w ləmhər rəh e. | ū gā̃w ləmhər rəhe. | ū gā̃w ləmhər rəh e. | ū gā̃w ləmhər rəhe. | ū gā̃w ləmhər rəh e. | That village was big. |

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| 18. | i koT$^{h}$əli c$^{h}$oT nəi khe. | i koT$^{h}$əli c$^{h}$oT nəi khe. | i koT$^{h}$əli c$^{h}$oT nəik he bā. | i koT$^{h}$əli c$^{h}$oTā n ə he. | i koT$^{h}$əli c$^{h}$oT nə b ā. | i koT$^{h}$əli c$^{h}$oT nā i bā. | This room is not small. |
| 19. | tohār g$^{h}$ər ləmhər bā. | tohər g$^{h}$ər ləmhər bā. | tohər g$^{h}$ər ləmhər h əu. | tohrā g$^{h}$ər ləmhər həwə. | tohər g$^{h}$ər ləmhər b ā. | tohār g$^{h}$ər bəRā b ā. | Your house is big. |
| 20. | okni ke g$^{h}$ər bəhut c$^{h}$oT rəhe. | okni ke g$^{h}$ər bəhu t c$^{h}$oT rəhe. | okni ke g$^{h}$ər bəhut c$^{h}$oT rəhləi. | okni ke g$^{h}$ər bəhu te c$^{h}$oTā rəhəi. | okni ke g$^{h}$ər bəhut c$^{h}$oT rəhe. | okəni ke g$^{h}$ər bəh ut c$^{h}$oT rəhəl. | Their houses were very small. |
| 21. | i pət$^{h}$əl sə b$^{h}$āri nə ikhe. | i pət$^{h}$əl sə b$^{h}$āri n əikhe. | i pət$^{h}$əl sə b$^{h}$āri nəi khe bā. | i pət$^{h}$əl sə b$^{h}$āri n ə he. | i pət$^{h}$əl sə b$^{h}$āri nə bāTe. | i pət$^{h}$əl sə b$^{h}$āri n āi bā. | These stones are not heavy. |
| 22. | okər TokəRi ləmh ər rəhe. | okər TokəRi ləm hər rəhe. | okər TokəRi ləmhə r rəhləi. | okrā TokəRi ləm hər rəhā he. | okər c$^{h}$əĩTi ləmhər rəhe. | okər TokəRi bəR ā rəhəl. | His basket was big. |
| 23. | okər g$^{h}$ər purān rə he. | okər g$^{h}$ər purān r əhe. | okər g$^{h}$ər purān rəh ləi. | okrāg$^{h}$ər purānā rəhā he. | okər g$^{h}$ər purān rəh e. | okər g$^{h}$ər purān r əhe. | His house was old. |
| 24. | ū həmār b$^{h}$əiā bā Rən. | ū həmər b$^{h}$əiā bā Rən. | ū həmər b$^{h}$āi bā. | ū həmrā b$^{h}$əiā hə wə. | ū həmər b$^{h}$əiā bāRə n. | ū həmār b$^{h}$əiā hə wẽ. | He is elder brother. |
| 25. | ego b$^{h}$əĩs nədi hel ət rəhe. | ego b$^{h}$əĩs nədi he ləit rəhe. | ego b$^{h}$əĩs nədi heləi t rəhləi. | ego b$^{h}$əĩs nədi he lət rəhe. | ego b$^{h}$əĩsi nədi helə it rəhe. | ego b$^{h}$əĩs nədi he lət rəhli. | A buffalo was crossing the river. |
| 26. | pāni T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā bā. | pāni T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā bā. | pāni T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā bā. | pāni T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā he. | pāni T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā bā. | pāni T$^{h}$ənD$^{h}$ā bā. | The water is cold. |
| 27. | həm rāt nā sutəni. | həm rāt nə sutəli. | həm rāti nə sutəli. | həm rāti nə suten . | həm rāt nə sutəli. | həm rətiā nāi sut əli. | I didn't sleep last night. |
| 28. | uhā ke sutəl bā ? | uhā ke sutəl bā ? | uhā ke sutəl bā ? | uhā kəun sutā he ? | uhā ke sutəl bā ? | uhā ke sutəl bā ? | Who is sleeping there? |
| 29. | tohār beTā kəe bə ris ke b$^{h}$əil ? | tohər beTā kəe b əris ke b$^{h}$el ? | tohər beTā kəe bəri s ke hol ? | tohər beTā kəe b əris kā b$^{h}$elwə ? | tohər beTā kəe bəri s ke həwə ? | tohār beTā kəe b əris ke b$^{h}$əil ? | How old is your son? |
| 30. | nā b$^{h}$āg. | nə b$^{h}$āg. | nə b$^{h}$āg. | nə b$^{h}$āg. | nə b$^{h}$āg. | nāi b$^{h}$āg. | Don't run away. |
| 31. | əb həmni sutĩ. | əb həmni sutu. | əb həmni səb sutu. | əb həmni sut rəhi o. | əb həmni sutu. | əb həmmən ke su teke. | Let us sleep now. |
| 32. | ləikā bihəne jənm əl rəhe. | ləikā bihəne jən məl rəhe. | ləikā bihəne jənməl rəhe. | ləikā b$^{h}$inəhi pəe dā b$^{h}$əwā rəhā. | ləikā binəhiā jənm əl rəhe. | ləikā bihəne jən məl rəhe. | The child was born at morning. |
| 33. | həm oh gãw me jə nməl rəhĩ. | həm oh gãw me j ənməl rəhi. | həm oh gãw me jən məl rəhli. | həm oh gãw me j ənme rəhehən. | həm oh gãw me jən məl rəhi. | həm oh gãw me j ənməl rəhli. | I was born in that village. |
| 34. | okni cərwāhā hə. | okni cərwāhā hə. | okni səb cərwāhā b ā. | okni cərwāhā he. | okni cərwāhā bāTe . | onnke cərwāhā h ol. | They are shepherds. |
| 35. | ū bepāri nəik$^{h}$e. | ū bepāri nəik$^{h}$e. | ū bepāri nəik$^{h}$e bā. | ū bepāri nə he. | ū bepāri nə bā. | ū bepāri nāi ho. | He is not a businessman. |
| 36. | ihā tū kā kərelə ? | ihā tū kā kərələ ? | ihā tū kət$^{h}$i kərəise ? | ihā tū kā kərət hə ? | ihā tū kā kərəic$^{h}$ə ? | ihā tū kā kərelə ? | What are you doing here? |

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| 37. | bilāi ego cirəi pək aRlək. | bilāi ego cirəi pə kaRlək. | bilāi ego cirəi pəka Rlək. | billi el cirəi pəka Rlie. | bilāi ego cirəi pəka Rlək. | bilār ekT$^{h}$o cirəi pəkaRlək. | The cat caught a bird. |
| 38. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər cəR $^{h}$ətiā. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər cə R$^{h}$əitā. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər cəR$^{h}$ əitā. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər cə R$^{h}$ət hi. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər cəR$^{h}$ əitā. | bilār gāc$^{h}$ pər cə R$^{h}$ətā. | The cat is climbing up a tree. |
| 39. | ləikā gāc$^{h}$ pər cəR $^{h}$ətā. | ləikā gāc$^{h}$ pər cə R$^{h}$əitā. | ləikā gāc$^{h}$i pər cəR $^{h}$əitā. | ləikā gāc$^{h}$ pər cə R$^{h}$ət he lāge. | ləikā gāc$^{h}$ pər cəR$^{h}$ əitā. | ləikā pẽR pər cəR $^{h}$ətā. | The child is climbing up a tree. |
| 40. | kəwən ū murgā ke pəkəRi ? | kəwən ū murgā k e pəkəRi ? | kəwən ū murgā ke pəkəRi ? | kəun ū murgā ke pəkəRli ? | kəwən ū murgā ke pəkəRi ? | ke ū murgā ke pə kəRi ? | Who will catch the rooster? |
| 41. | okənikā əluwā k$^{h}$ ātā. | okənikā əluwā k$^{h}$ āitā. | okəni səb əluwā k$^{h}$ āitā. | okənikā əluwā k$^{h}$ āt he lāge. | okənikā əluwā k$^{h}$āi tā. | ū logən əluwā k$^{h}$ ātā. | They are eating sweet potato. |
| 42. | rəuwā cāe piem ? | rəuwā cāh piəm ? | rəuwā cāh piəm ? | tū cāy pihə ? | ãhã cāh piəm ? | rəurā cāy piəb ? | Will you take tea? |
| 43. | kā rəuwā pāni pin i ? | kā rəuwā pāni pil i ? | kā rəuwā pāni pili ? | kā tū pāni pilie ? | kā ãhā pāni pili ? | kā rəurā pāni piə lĩ ? | Did you drink water? |
| 44. | kā ū əluwā k$^{h}$əilə k ? | kā ū əluwā k$^{h}$əel ək ? | kā ū əluwā k$^{h}$əelək ? | kā ū əluwā k$^{h}$alie ? | kā ū əluwā k$^{h}$əelək ? | kā ū əluwā k$^{h}$əel əs ? | Did he eat sweet potatoes? |
| 45. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər nā c əR$^{h}$əl. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər nə cəR$^{h}$əl. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər nā cə R$^{h}$əl. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər nə cəR$^{h}$əl. | billi gāc$^{h}$ pər nə cə R$^{h}$ĩ. | bilāi gāc$^{h}$ pər nə cəR$^{h}$əl. | The cat did not climb on the tree. |
| 46. | okənikā kāhe həm ār kəpRā jərəilək ? | okənikā kāhe hə mer kəpRā jərəel ək ? | okənikā kāhe həmə r kəpRā jərəelək ? | okəni sab kāhe h əmrā kəpRā jərae ? | okənikā kāhe həmə r kəpRā jərəelək ? | onn kāhe həmār kəpRā jərəwəle ? | Why did they burn my clothes? |
| 47. | i əũT$^{h}$i lohā ke bāt e. | i əũT$^{h}$i lohā ke b ā. | i əũT$^{h}$i lohā ke bā. | i əũT$^{h}$i lohā ka h e. | i əũT$^{h}$i lohā ke bā. | i əũT$^{h}$i lohā ke h əwe. | This ring is made of iron. |
| 48. | əpne log me ke i d əurā bənəile bā ? | əpne log me ke i dəurā bənwle bā ? | əpne log me ke i də urā bənəwle bā ? | əpne log me ke i dəurā bine hə ? | əpne log me ke i də urā bənəwle bā ? | əpne log me ke i dəurā bənəwle bā ? | Who made the bamboo-basket among you? |
| 49. | rəuwā kā b$^{h}$əil ? | rəuwā kā b$^{h}$el ? | əpəne ke kət$^{h}$i hol ? | tore kā b$^{h}$elwə ? | ãhã̄ ke kət$^{h}$i b$^{h}$el ? | rəurā kā b$^{h}$əil ? | What happened to you? |
| 50. | ū mās nā k$^{h}$ā. | ū mās nə k$^{h}$ā. | ū mās nə k$^{h}$ā. | ū gos nə k$^{h}$ā. | ū mās nə k$^{h}$ā. | ū mās naĩ k$^{h}$aĩ. | Do not eat the meat. |
| 51. | əb b$^{h}$āt ninhə. | əb b$^{h}$āt ninhə. | əb b$^{h}$āt ninhə. | əb b$^{h}$āt pəkalə. | əb b$^{h}$āt ninhə. | əb b$^{h}$āt rinhəbə. | Now cook rice. |
| 52. | ū pātā nā jərəilək. | ū pātā nə jərəwlə k. | ū pātā nā jərəwlək. | ū pəttā nə jərae. | ū pātā nā jərəwlək. | ū pātā nā jərəiləs . | He did not burn the leaves. |
| 53. | lohā nā jərelā. | lohā nə jərəle. | lohā nə jərəle. | lohā jərĩ nə. | lohā nə jərele. | lohā naĩ jərĩ. | Iron never burns. |
| 54. | ū pāni c$^{h}$oRke kuc $^{h}$iyo nā k$^{h}$ālā. | ū pāni c$^{h}$oRke ku c$^{h}$iyo nə k$^{h}$āle. | ū pāni c$^{h}$oRke kuc$^{h}$ iyo nə k$^{h}$āle. | ū pāni c$^{h}$oRke ku c$^{h}$iyo nə k$^{h}$āt həw . | ū pāni c$^{h}$oRke kuc$^{h}$ iyo nə k$^{h}$āle. | ū pāni c$^{h}$oRke ku c$^{h}$nāi k$^{h}$ālā. | He takes nothing except water. |

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| 55. | həm i bʰĩjəl kəpRā ke kā kərĩ ? | həm i bʰĩjəl kəpR ā ke kā kərū ? | həm i bʰĩjəl kəpRā ke kətʰi kərū ? | həm i bʰĩjā kəpR ā ke kā kərio ? | həm i bʰĩjəl kəpRā ke kətʰi kərū ? | həm i bʰĩjəl kəpR ā ke kā kərĩ ? | What can I do with these wet clothes? |
| 56. | kā u ū əluwā nā kʰəiləkʰ ? | kā u ū əluwā nə kʰəeləkʰ ? | kā u ū əluwā nə kʰ ələĩ̄ ? | ka u ū əluwā nə kʰae ? | kā u ū əluwā nə kʰ əeləkʰ ? | kā u ū əluwā nāi kʰəiləs ? | Did he not eat those sweet potatoes. |
| 57. | cirəi pəkRāil. | cirəi pəkRāel. | cirəi pəkRāel. | cirəi pəkRā gawā . | cirəi pəkRāel. | cirəi pəkRāil. | The bird was caught. |
| 58. | əpne kekrā se jutā kinəni ? | əpne kekrā se jut ā kinəli ? | əpne kekrā se jutā kinəli ? | tu kekre se jutā k ine hə ? | ahā̃ kekrā se jutā k inəli ? | əpne ke se jutā ki nəli ? | Who did you buy the shoes from? |
| 59. | əpne se i kəmĩ̄j ke bẽcləkʰ ? | əpne se i kəmĩ̄j k e bẽcləkʰ ? | əpne se i jamā ke b ẽcləkʰ ? | tore se i kəmĩ̄j kə un bẽcis ? | ahā̃ se i kəmĩ̄j ke b ẽcləkʰ ? | əpne se i kəmij k e bẽcləs ? | Who sold this shirt to you? |
| 60. | ū cəkku bẽcelā. | ū cəkku bẽcəle. | ū cəkku bẽcəie. | ū cəkku bẽcət həĩ̄ . | ū cəkku bẽcəle. | ū cəkku bẽcəlā. | He sells knives. |
| 61. | həm bihān nəyā k əmĩ̄j kinem. | həm bihān nəyā kəmĩ̄j kinəm. | həm bihān nəyā ja mā kinəm. | həm bihān nəyā kəmĩ̄j kinbā. | həm bihān nəyā kə mĩ̄j kinəm. | həm bihān nəyā kəmĩ̄j kinəb. | I shall buy a new shirt tomorrow. |
| 62. | ū həmrā ke tənikā əlui deləkʰ. | ū həmrā ke tənik ā əlui deləkʰ. | ū həmrā ke təikā əl ui deləkʰ. | ū həm ko tənikā əlui die he. | ū həmrā ke təikā əl ui deləkʰ. | ū həm ke tənik əl ui deləs. | He gave me some potatoes. |
| 63. | həm okrā se tənik ā əlui leni. | həm okrā se təni kā əlui leli. | həm okrā se təikā ə lui leli. | həm okre se tənik ā əlui lie hən. | həm okrā se təikā ə lui leli. | həm un se tənik ə lui lĩ̄. | I took some potatoes from him. |
| 64. | ū məcʰəri nā bẽcel ā. | ū məcʰəri nə bẽc əle. | ū məcʰəri nə bẽcəis əĩ̄. | ū məcʰəri nə bẽc ət həĩ̄. | ū məcʰəri nə bẽcəle . | ū məccʰəri nāi bẽ cəlā. | He does not sell fish. |
| 65. | kā həm əpne ke pə rʰu ego Tāŋi pəĩcā deni ? | kā həm əpne ke p ərʰu ego Tāŋi pəĩ cā deli ? | kā həm əpne ke pər ʰu ego Tāŋi pəĩcā d eli ? | kā həm torā pərʰ u ego Tāŋi pəĩcā die rəhiəwə ? | kā həm ahā ke pərʰ u ego Tāŋi pəĩcā de li ? | kā həm əpne ke p ərʰu ego Tāŋi pəĩ cā dehle rəhĩ̄ ? | Did I lend you an axe last year? |
| 66. | kā həm əpne ke ū bāt nā kəhni ? | kā həm əpne ke ū bāt nə kəhli ? | kā həm əpne ke ū b āt nə kəhli ? | kā həm toke ū bā t nə kəhe rəhiəwə ? | kā həm ahā ke ū bā t nə kəhli ? | kā həm əpne ke ū bāt nāi kəhli ? | Didn't I tell you that matter? |
| 67. | okrā se i dʰān nā bẽcəl gəil. | okrā se i dʰān nə bẽcəl gel. | okrā se i dʰān nə bi kələĩ̄. | okrā se i dʰān nə bẽca gawā. | okrā se i dʰān nə b ẽcəl gel. | un se i dʰān nāi b ẽcəl gəil. | This paddy was not sold to him. |
| 68. | ū ādmi ego lāTʰi s e ū sãp muəiləkʰ. | ū ādmi ego lāTʰi se ū sãp muəeləkʰ . | ū ādmi ego lāTʰi se ū sãp muəeləkʰ. | ū ādmi ego lāTʰi se ū sãp ko muae . | ū ādmi ego lāTʰi se ū sãp muəeləkʰ. | ū ādmi ego lāTʰi se ū sãp muəiləs. | The man killed the snake with a stick. |
| 69. | laTʰi se sãp muāw əl gəil. | laTʰi se sãp muā wəl gel. | laTʰi se sãp muələĩ̄. | laTʰi se sãp mara gawā. | laTʰi se sãp muāwə l gel. | laTʰi se sãp muā wəl gəil. | The snake was killed with a stick. |
| 70. | oh ādmi kā hāTʰe sãp mārəl gəil. | oh ādmi kā hāTʰ e sãp mārəl gel. | oh ādmi kā hāTʰe s ãp mārəl gel. | oh ādmi kā hāTʰ e sãp mārā gawā | oh ādmi kā hāTʰe s ãp mārəl gel. | oh ādmi kā hāTʰ e sãp mārəl gəil. | A snake was killed by the man. |

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| 71. | cəkku se ləkəRi n ā kāT. | cəkku se ləkəRi n ə kāT. | cəkku se ləkəRi nə kāT. | cəkku se ləkəRi n ā kāT. | cəkku se ləkəRi nə kāT. | cəkku se ləkəRi n āi kāT. | Don't cut the wood with a knife. |
| 72. | ke eh cəkku se mā s kəTlək ? | ke eh cəkku se m ãs kəTlək ? | ke ĩ cəkku se mās k əTlək ? | ke eh cəkku se go st kɑTe ? | ke eh cəkku se mās kəTlək ? | ke eh cəkku se m ās kəTləs ? | Who cut the meat with this knife? |
| 73. | həm oh pāni me ā pən lugā p$^{h}$ĩcni. | həm oh pāni me əpən lugā p$^{h}$ĩcli. | həm oh pāni me əp ən lugā p$^{h}$ĩcli. | həm oh pāni me əpnā lugā p$^{h}$ĩcen. | həm oh pāni me əp ən lugā p$^{h}$ĩcli. | həm oh pāni me āpən kəpRā d$^{h}$ow əli. | I washed my clothes with that water. |
| 74. | kā tu k$^{h}$āli pānie me lugā p$^{h}$ĩcelə ? | kā tu k$^{h}$āli pānie me lugā p$^{h}$ĩcələ ? | kā tu k$^{h}$āli pānie m e lugā p$^{h}$ĩcəise ? | kā tu k$^{h}$āli pānie me lugā p$^{h}$ĩcət hə ? | kā tu k$^{h}$āli pānie m e lugā p$^{h}$ĩcələ ? | kā tu k$^{h}$āli pānie me kəpRā d$^{h}$owəl ə həw ? | Do you wash the clothes only with water? |
| 75. | āpən dəhinā goR s e bəwl rokə. | əpən dəhinā goR se bəwl rokə. | əpən dəhinā goR se bəwl rokə. | əpən dəhinā goR se bəwl roklə. | əpən dəhinā goR se bəwl rokə. | āpən dəhinā goR se bəwl rokə. | Stop the ball with your right leg. |
| 76. | cərwāhā ego bāg$^{h}$ dek$^{h}$lək. | cərwāhā ego bāg $^{h}$ dek$^{h}$lək. | cərwāhā ego bāg$^{h}$ dek$^{h}$lək. | cərwāhā ego bāg $^{h}$ dek$^{h}$ləĩ. | cərwāhā ego bāg$^{h}$ dek$^{h}$lək. | cərwāhā ego bāg $^{h}$ dek$^{h}$ləs. | The shepherd saw a tiger. |
| 77. | həm ekāek bəhut g$^{h}$ər dek$^{h}$ni. | həm ekāek bəhut g$^{h}$ər dek$^{h}$li. | həm ekāek bəhut g$^{h}$ ər dek$^{h}$li. | həm ekāek bəhut g$^{h}$ər dek$^{h}$iəĩ. | həm ekāek bəhut g$^{h}$ ər dek$^{h}$li. | həm ekāek bəhut g$^{h}$ər dek$^{h}$li. | I saw many houses all of a sudden. |
| 78. | əpne həmār kəhəl sunəni ? | əpne həmər kəhəl sunli ? | əpne həmər kəhəl s unli ? | tū həmrā̃ kəhā su ne ? | ɑhā̃ həmər kəhəl su nli ? | əpne həmār kəhəl sunli ? | Did you listen what I said. |
| 79. | kā əpne ū pəhāR d ek$^{h}$eni ? | kā əpne ū pəhāR dek$^{h}$ile ? | kā əpne ū pəhāR de k$^{h}$əisi ? | kā tū ū pəhāR de k$^{h}$ət hə ? | kā ɑhā̃ ū pəhāR de k$^{h}$əic$^{h}$ĩ ? | kā əpne ū pəhāR dek$^{h}$ilā ? | Can you see that hill? |
| 80. | həm tə ekogo lāl p $^{h}$ūl nā dek$^{h}$ni. | həm tə ekogo lāl p$^{h}$ūl nə dek$^{h}$li. | həm tə ekogo lāl p$^{h}$ ūl nə dek$^{h}$li. | həm tə ekogo lāl p$^{h}$ūl nə dek$^{h}$en. | həm tə ekogo lāl p$^{h}$ ūl nə dek$^{h}$li. | həm tə ekot$^{h}$o lāl p$^{h}$ūl nāi dek$^{h}$li. | I didn't see a single red flower. |
| 81. | həm ego ādmi ke dəurət dek$^{h}$eni. | həm ego ādmi ke dəurəit dek$^{h}$ile. | həm ego ādmi ke d əurəit dek$^{h}$əisi. | həm ego ādmi ke dəurət dek$^{h}$ile. | həm ego ādmi kedə urəit dek$^{h}$əic$^{h}$i. | həm ego ādmi ke dəurət dek$^{h}$ilā. | I see a man who is running. |
| 82. | ū uhā se kət$^{h}$i sunl ək ? | ū uhā se kət$^{h}$i su nlək ? | ū uhā se kət$^{h}$i sunlə k ? | ū uhā se kət$^{h}$i su nləĩ ? | ū uhā se kət$^{h}$i sunlə k ? | ū uhā se kət$^{h}$i su nləs ? | What did he hear from there? |
| 83. | əpne kuc$^{h}$ suneni ? | əpne kuc$^{h}$ sunile ? | əpne kuc$^{h}$ sunəisi ? | tū kuc$^{h}$ sunət hə ? | əpne kuc$^{h}$ sunəic$^{h}$i ? | əpne kuc$^{h}$ sunilā ? | Do you hear something? |
| 84. | ihā se kāT$^{h}$mɑnDu ketnā dūr bā ? | ihā se kāT$^{h}$mɑnD u kətek dūr bā ? | ihā se kāT$^{h}$mɑnDu ketnā dūr bā ? | ihā se kāT$^{h}$mɑnD u ketnā dūr həĩ ? | ihā se kāT$^{h}$mɑnDu ketnā dūr bā ? | ihā se kāT$^{h}$mɑnD u kitnā dūr bā ? | How far is Kathmandu from here? |
| 85. | ū həmni kihā āge sāl āĩ. | ū həmni kihə əgil ā sāl āĩ. | ū həmni kihə əgilā sāl ətəū. | ū həmni kihə əgil ā sāl ətəĩ. | ū həmni kihə əgilā sāl āĩ. | ū həmre kihə əgil ā sāl āĩ. | He will visit us next year. |
| 86. | oknikā g$^{h}$əreg$^{h}$ər g $^{h}$umlək. | oknikā g$^{h}$əreg$^{h}$ər g$^{h}$umlək. | okni səb g$^{h}$əreg$^{h}$ər g$^{h}$umlək. | okni səb g$^{h}$əreg$^{h}$ə r g$^{h}$umləĩ. | oknike g$^{h}$əreg$^{h}$ər g$^{h}$ umlək. | oknikā g$^{h}$əreg$^{h}$ər g$^{h}$umləs. | They visited every house. |

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| 87. | kisān nədɪ̄ jālā. | kisān nədɪ̄ jāle. | kisān nədɪ̄ jāisəi. | kisān nədɪ̄ jāt həi . | kisān nədɪ̄ jāle. | kisān nədɪ̄ jāle. | The farmer goes to the stream. |
| 88. | kisān āpən kʰet m e se āil. | kisān əpən kʰet me se āel. | kisān əpən kʰet me se āel. | kisān əpne kʰet me se ələɪ̄. | kisān əpən kʰet me se āel. | kisān āpən kʰet me se āil. | The farmer came from his field. |
| 89. | cirəɪ̄ sə pəhāR pər se uRəl. | cirəɪ̄ sə pəhāR pə r se uRəl. | cirəɪ̄ sə pəhāR pər s e uRləɪ̄. | cirəɪ̄ sə pəhāR pə r se uRləɪ̄. | cirəɪ̄ sə pəhāR pər s e uRəl. | cirəɪ̄ sə pəhāR pə r se uRəl. | The birds flew away from the hill. |
| 90. | inār se pāni kʰîcə. | inār se pāni kʰîcə . | inār se pāni kʰîcə. | inār se pāni kʰîcə . | inār se pāni bʰərə. | inār se pāni kʰîcə . | Draw the water from the well. |
| 91. | ū oh gācʰ tər ego gʰoRā pər bəiTʰəl bā. | ū oh gācʰ ləŋ ego gʰoRā pər bəiTʰə l bā. | ū oh gācʰ tər ego g ʰoRā pər bəiTʰəl bā . | ū oh gācʰ ləŋ ego gʰoRā pər bəiTʰ ā həɪ̄. | ū oh gācʰ ləŋ ego g ʰoRā pər bəiTʰəl bā . | ū oh pẽR təre ego gʰoRā pər bəiTʰə l bā. | He is riding a horse under the tree. |
| 92. | həmrā āge cələ. | həmrā āgu cələ. | həmrā āgu cələ. | həmre āgu cələ. | həmrā əgɑRi cələ. | həmre āge cələ. | Walk in front of me. |
| 93. | okrā pācʰe cələ. | okrā pācʰu cələ. | okrā picʰā cələ. | okre pācʰu cələ. | okrā pəcʰɑRi cələ. | okre pācʰe cələ. | Walk behind him. |
| 94. | həm əpne ke cʰəîT i me kəriā pətʰəl d ʰəini. | həm əpne ke cʰəî Ti me kəriā pətʰə l dʰəili. | həm əpne ke cʰəîTi me kəriā pətʰəl dʰ əili. | həm tohəre cʰəîTi me kəriā pətʰəl dʰərliəwə. | həm ɑhā ke cʰəîTi me kəriā pətʰəl dʰə ili. | həm əpne ke kʰãc i me kəriā pətʰəl dʰəili. | I put the black stone in your basket. |
| 95. | həmār sātʰi ke be Tā okrā bəhin se b iāh kəile bā. | həmər sātʰi ke be Tā okrā bəhin se biāh kəele bā. | həmər sātʰi ke beT ā okrā bəhin se biā h kəele bā. | həmər sātʰi ke be Tā okre bəhin se biāh kəre həɪ̄. | həmər sātʰi ke beT ā okrā bəhin se biā h kəɛle bā. | həmār sātʰi ke be Tā okrā bəhin se biāh kəile bā. | My friend's son has married his sister. |
| 96. | həmrā pɪ̄Tʰ pər se āpən hātʰ həTāwə . | həmrā pɪ̄Tʰ pər s e əpən hātʰ həTā wə. | həmrā pɪ̄Tʰ pər se ə pən hātʰ həTāwə. | həmre pɪ̄Tʰ pər se tu əpnɑ hātʰ həT āwə. | həmrā pɪ̄Tʰ pər se ə pən hātʰ həTāwə. | həmrā pɪ̄Tʰ pər s e āpən hātʰ həTā wə. | Keep out your hand from my back. |
| 97. | ū tohār cəkku se ā pən hātʰ kāTlelək. | ū tohrā cəkku se əpən hātʰ kāTlelə k. | ū tohrā cəkku se əp ən hātʰ kāTlelək. | ū tohre cəkku se əpənā hātʰ kāTlel əɪ̄. | ū tohrā cəkku se əp ən hātʰ kāTlelək. | ū tohār cəkku se āpən hātʰ kāTlelə k. | He cut his hand with your knife. |
| 98. | həmrā nā rəhlā pə r əpne okər cəkku cələini ? | həmrā nə rəhlā p ər əpne okər cəkk u cələili ? | həmrā nə rəhlā pər əpne okər cəkku cə ləili ? | həmre nə rəhe pə r tu okrɑ cəkku c ələlhū ? | həmrā nə rəhəit me ɑhā okər cəkku cəl əili ? | həmrā nāi rəhlā pər əpne okər cək ku cələili ? | Did you use his knife when I was not there. |
| 99. | həm āpən goR tur leni ā həmār cʰəîT i bʰulāleni. | həm əpən goR tur leli ā həmər cʰəî Ti bʰulāleli. | həm əpən goR tur l eli ā həmər cʰəîTi bʰulāleli. | həm əpən goR tur leliəi ā həmrā cʰ əîTi bʰulāleliəɪ̄. | həm əpən goR tur l eli ā həmər cʰəîTi bʰulāleli. | həm āpən goR tur lehli ā həmār cʰ əîTi bʰulālehli. | I broke my leg and lost my basket. |
| 100. | əpne ke cācā ke g ʰər me kəego beTā bā ? | əpne ke cācā ke gʰər me kəego be Tā bā ? | əpne ke kākā ke gʰ ər me kəego beTā b ā ? | tore cācā ke gʰər me kəego beTā h əwə ? | ɑhā ke cācā ke gʰə r me kəego beTā bā ? | əpne ke cācā ke gʰər me kəeTʰo b eTā bā ? | How many sons are there in your uncle's house. |
| 101. | həmrā tin jəne bʰə | həmrā tin jəne bʰ | həmrā tin jəne dād | həmre tingo bəRɑ | həmrā tin jəne bʰəi | həmrā tin jəne bʰ | I have three elder |

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| | iā ā cār jəne bʰāi bāRən. | əiā ā cār jəne bʰā i bāRən. | ā ā cār jəne bʰāi bā Rən. | ā cārgo cʰoTā bʰ āi he. | ā ā cār jəne bʰāi bā Rən. | əiā ā cār jəne bʰā i bāRən. | and four younger brothers. |
| 102. | okər beTā beTi se ləmhər bā. | okər beTā beTi s e ləmhər bā. | okər beTā beTi se l əmhər bā. | okrā beTā beTi s e ləmhər həĩ. | okər beTā beTi se l əmhər bā. | okər beTā beTi s e ləmhər bā. | His son is taller than his daughter. |
| 103. | othā tingo cʰoT uj jər ā tingo bəRkā kəriā kuttā rəhe. | uhā tingo cʰoT uj jər ā tingo bəRkā kəriā kuttā rəhe. | ojgā tingo cʰoT ujj ər ā tingo bəRkā kə riā kuttā rəhe. | uhā tingo cʰoTā ujrā ā tingo bəRā kəriā kuttā rəhlə ĩ. | uā tingo cʰoT ujjər ā tingo bəRkā kəriā kuttā rəhe. | othā tingo cʰoT u jjər ā tingo bəRk ā kəriā kuttā rəh e. | There were three small white and three big black dogs there. |
| 104. | othā əpne dʰətni p ər cārgo kəriā pət ʰəl bʰəil pəhāR de kʰem. | uhā əpne dʰətni p ər cārgo kəriā pə tʰəl rəhəl pəhāR dekʰəb. | ojgā əpne dʰətni pə r cārgo kəriā pətʰəl rəhəl pəhāR dekʰə b. | uhā tu kor pər cā rgo kəriā pətʰəlw ala pəhāR dekʰbə . | uhā ahā dʰətni pər cārgo kəriā pətʰəl r əhəl pəhāR dekʰem . | othā əpne dʰətni pər cārgo kəriā p ətʰəl bʰəil pəhāR dekʰəb. | You can see the hill there with four small stones at the peak. |
| 105. | okrā ke pāc kilo c āur ā tin kilo əluā də. | okrā ke pāc kilo cāur ā tin kilo əl uā də. | okrā ke pāc kilo cā ur ā tin kilo əluā d ə. | oko pāc kilo cāur ā tin kilo əluā de dəhū. | okrā ke pāc kilo cā ur ā tin kilo əluā d edə. | okrā ke pāc kilo cāur ā tin kilo əl uā də. | Give him five kilos of rice and three kilos of sweet potatoes. |
| 106. | həmni səŋe ihā tin go bərtən ā cārgo cəkku bā. | həmni səŋe ihā ti ngo bərtən ā cārg o cəkku bā. | həmni səŋe ihā ting o bərtən ā cārgo cə kku bā. | həmni ləge ihā ti ngo bərtən ā cārg o cəkku həĩ. | həmni ke ihā tingo bərtən ā cārgo cəkk u bā. | həmni səŋe ihā ti nTʰo bərtən ā cār Tʰo cəkku bā. | We have three utensils and four knives here. |
| 107. | əpne ke gā̃w me k əego gʰər bā ? | əpne ke gā̃w me kəego gʰər bā ? | əpne ke gā̃w me kə ego gʰər bā ? | tore gā̃w me kəeg o gʰər həwə ? | ahā ke gā̃w me kəe go gʰər bā ? | əpne ke gā̃w me kəeTʰo gʰər bā ? | How many houses are there in your village? |
| 108. | i bʰəĩs ketnā pāni pielā ? | i bʰəĩs kətek pāni piəle ? | i bʰəĩs kətek pāni p iəie ? | i bʰəĩs ketnā pāni piət hĩ ? | i bʰəĩsi kətek pāni piəle ? | i bʰəĩs ketnā pāni piəle ? | How much water does this buffalo drink? |
| 109. | həm okni ke jərnā jərāwət dekʰni. | həm okni ke jərn ā jərəwəit dekʰli. | həm okni ke jərnā j ərəwəit dekʰli. | həm okni ko jərn ā jərāwət dekʰen. | həm okni ke jərnā j ərəwəit dekʰli. | həm u logan ke jə rnā jərāwət dekʰl i. | I saw them burning the firewood. |
| 110. | həmār səŋhətiā ke əbəhuo āpən kutt a miləl nəikʰe. | həmər səŋhətiā k e əbəhuo əpən ku tta miləl nəikʰe. | həmər səŋhətiā ke əbəhuo əpən kutta miləl nəikʰe. | həmre səŋhətiā k ā əbʰi tək əpənā kutta nə milləi. | həmər səŋhətiā ke əbəhuo əpən kutta miləl nəikʰe. | həmār səŋhətiā k e əbəhuo āpən ku tta miləl nāi bā. | My friend has not found his dog yet. |
| 111. | həmrā cʰəĩTi nā bi ne āwelā. | həmrā cʰəĩTi nə bine āwəle. | həmrā cʰəĩTi nə bin e əwəie. | həme cʰəĩTi nə bi ne āwət he. | həmrā cʰəĩTi nə bin e āwəle. | həmrā kʰā̃ci nāi bine āwelā. | I don't know how to make a basket. |
| 112. | həm othā jāe nā s əkni. | həm uhā jāe nə s əkli. | həm uhā jāe nə sək li. | həm uhā nə jā sə ken. | həm uhā jāe nə sək li. | həm othā jāe nāi səkli. | I could not go there. |
| 113. | ū həmār gā̃w ke s | ū həmrā gā̃w ke s | ū həmrā gā̃w ke sə | ū həmre gā̃w kā s | ū həmrā gā̃w ke sə | ū həmār gā̃w ke s | It's said that he is the oldest man in |

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| | əb se jeT$^{h}$ ādmi b āRən log kəhelā. | əb se jeT$^{h}$ ādmi b āRən log kəhəle. | b se jeT$^{h}$ ādmi bāR ən log kəhəle. | əb se jeT$^{h}$a ādmi həĩ log kəhət həĩ. | b se jeT$^{h}$ ādmi bāR ən log kəhəle. | əb se jeT$^{h}$ ādmi b āRən log kəhelā. | our village. |
| 114. | həm āj g$^{h}$əre jāek e cāhətāni. | həm āj g$^{h}$əre jāek e cəhəit baRi. | həm āj g$^{h}$əre jāeke k$^{h}$ojəit baRi. | həm āj g$^{h}$əre jāel ā cāhile. | həm āj g$^{h}$əre jāeke cəhəit baRi. | həm āj g$^{h}$əre jāek e cāhət bāTĩ. | I want to go home today. |
| 115. | əpne ke c$^{h}$əĩTi bin e āwelā ? | əpne ke c$^{h}$əĩTi bi ne āwəle ? | əpne ke c$^{h}$əĩTi bine əwəie ? | tore c$^{h}$əĩTi bine ā wət həw ? | ɑhā ke c$^{h}$əĩTi bine āwəle ? | əpne ke k$^{h}$ãci bin e āwelā ? | Do you know how to make a basket? |
| 116. | kā ū tənikā əluwā k$^{h}$āeke nā cahlək ? | kā ū tənikā əluw ā k$^{h}$āeke nə cəhlə k ? | kā ū təikā əluwā k$^{h}$ āeke nə cəhlək ? | kā ū tənikā əluw ā k$^{h}$āelɑ nə cəhlə ĩ ? | kā ū təikā əluwā k$^{h}$ āeke nə cəhlək ? | kā ū tənikā əluw ā k$^{h}$āeke nāi cahl ək ? | Did he not like to eat sweet potatoes? |
| 117. | həmni ke okrā ke mədət kəreke cāhĩ . | həmni ke okrā ke mədət kəreke cā hĩ. | həmni ke okrā ke mədət kəreke cāhĩ. | həmni səb ke oko mədət kəreko cā hĩ. | həmni ke oke mədə t kəreke cāhĩ. | həmni ke okrā ke mədət kəreke cā hilā. | Now, we should help him. |
| 118. | ū kuc$^{h}$ k$^{h}$āeke cij k$^{h}$ātir p$^{h}$er kosis k əri. | ū kuc$^{h}$ k$^{h}$āeke cij k$^{h}$ātir p$^{h}$er kosis kəri. | ū kuc$^{h}$ k$^{h}$āeke cij k $^{h}$ātir p$^{h}$er kosis kəri . | ū kuc$^{h}$ k$^{h}$āeke cij lā p$^{h}$er kosis kərt əi. | ū kuc$^{h}$ k$^{h}$āeke cijlā p$^{h}$er kosis kəri. | ū kuc$^{h}$ k$^{h}$āeke cij k$^{h}$ātir p$^{h}$er kosis kəri. | He will try again to some food. |
| 119. | ū əpne jərnā kāTĩ se cāhətā. | ū əpne jərnā kāT ū se cəhəitā. | ū əpne jərnā kāTū se cəhəie. | ū tū jərnā kāTə s e cāhət həĩ. | ū ɑhā jərnā kāTū s e cəhəitā. | ū əpne jərnā kāTĩ se cāhətā. | He wants you to cut the firewood. |
| 120. | həm rām ke kitāb deni. | həm rām ke kitāb deli. | həm rām ke kitāb d eli. | həm rām ke kitāb deliəĩ. | həm rām ke kitāb d eli. | həm rām ke kitāb dehli. | I gave a book to Ram. |
| 121. | həm b$^{h}$āt k$^{h}$əini. | həm b$^{h}$āt k$^{h}$əili. | həm b$^{h}$āt k$^{h}$əili. | həm b$^{h}$āt k$^{h}$ɑen. | həm b$^{h}$āt k$^{h}$əili. | həm b$^{h}$āt k$^{h}$əili. | I ate rice. |
| 122. | həm bājār gəini. | həm bājār geli. | həm bājār geli. | həm bājār gəen. | həm bājār geli. | həm bājār gəili. | I went to market. |
| 123. | həm hə̃sni. | həm hə̃sli. | həm hə̃sli. | həm hə̃sen. | həm hə̃sli. | həm hə̃sli. | I laughed. |
| 124. | həmrā i ləikā nim ən lāgelā. | həmrā i ləikā ni mən lāgəle. | həmrā i ləikā nimə n ləgəie. | həmre i ləikā nim ən lāgər he. | həmrā i ləikā nimə n lāgəle. | həmrā i ləikā ni mən lāgelā. | I like this boy. |
| 125. | həmrā i jutā T$^{h}$ik hok$^{h}$elā. | həmrā i jutā T$^{h}$ik hok$^{h}$əle. | həmrā i jutā T$^{h}$ik h oie. | həmre i jutā T$^{h}$ik ho jāt həĩ. | həmrā i jutā T$^{h}$ik h ok$^{h}$əle. | həmrā i jutā T$^{h}$ik hok$^{h}$elā. | These shoes fit for me. |
| 126. | duār k$^{h}$uləl. | duār k$^{h}$uləl. | duār k$^{h}$uləl. | duār k$^{h}$ulləĩ. | duār k$^{h}$uləl. | duār k$^{h}$uləl. | The door opened. |
| 127. | ādmi bemār ho gə il. | ādmi bemārĩ ho g el. | ādmi bemārĩ ho gel . | ādmi bemārĩ ho g eləĩ. | ādmi bemārĩ ho gel . | ādmi bemār ho g əil. | The man became sick. |
| 128. | rām ke b$^{h}$uk$^{h}$ lāgə l. | rām ke b$^{h}$uk$^{h}$ lāg əl. | rām ke b$^{h}$uk$^{h}$ lāgəl. | rām ke b$^{h}$uk$^{h}$ lāg eləĩ. | rām ke b$^{h}$uk$^{h}$ lāgəl. | rām ke b$^{h}$uk$^{h}$ lāg əl. | Ram felt hungry. |
| 129. | rām ke həuāe lāgə l. | rām ke həuāe lāg əl. | rām ke həuāe lāgəl . | rām ke həuāe ləg ələĩ. | rām ke həuāe lāgəl . | rām ke həuāe lāg əl. | Ram felt itching. |
| 130. | g$^{h}$ām ugəl. | g$^{h}$ām ugəl. | g$^{h}$ām ugəl. | g$^{h}$ām ugləiĩ. | g$^{h}$ām ugəl. | g$^{h}$ām ugəl. | The sun rose. |
| 131. | bərk$^{h}$ā b$^{h}$əil. | bərk$^{h}$ā b$^{h}$el. | bərk$^{h}$ā b$^{h}$el. | meg$^{h}$ b$^{h}$eləi. | bərk$^{h}$ā b$^{h}$el. | bərk$^{h}$ā b$^{h}$əil. | It rained. |
| 132. | həmrā tingo b$^{h}$āi | həmrā tingo b$^{h}$āi | həmrā tingo b$^{h}$āi b | həmre tingo b$^{h}$āi | həmrā tingo b$^{h}$āi b | həmrā tingo b$^{h}$āi | I have three |

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| | bā. | bā. | ā. | he. | ā. | ho. | younger brothers. |
| 133. | həmrā səhər me k ām bā. | həmrā səhər me kām bā. | həmrā səhər me kā m bā. | həmre səhər me k ām he. | həmrā səhər me kā m bā. | həmr ke səhər me kām ho. | I have some work in the city. |
| 134. | ləikā cālāk bā. | ləikā cālāk bā. | ləikā cālāk bā. | nəikā cālāk he. | nəikā cālāk bā. | nəikā cālāk ho. | The boy is clever. |
| 135. | ləikā cərwāhā bā. | ləikā cərwāhā bā . | ləikā cərwāhā bā. | ləikā cərwāhā he . | ləikā cərwāhā bā. | ləikā cərwāhā ho . | The boy is a shepherd. |
| 136. | ihā gərəm bā. | ihā gərəm bā. | ihā gərəm bā. | ihā gərəm he. | ihā gərəm bā. | ihā gərəm ho. | It's warm here. |
| 137. | $b^h$itər jāR bā. | $b^h$itər jāR bā. | $b^h$itər jāR bā. | $b^h$itər jāR he. | $b^h$itər jāR bā. | $b^h$itər jāR ho. | It's cold inside. |
| 138. | rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$əi lək. | rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$ə elək. | rām kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$ə elək. | rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$a e. | rām kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$ə elək. | rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$ə iləs. | Ram ate rice yesterday. |
| 139. | kā rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k $^h$əilək ? | kā rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$əelək ? | kā rām kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$əelək ? | kā rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$ae ? | kā rām kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$əelək ? | kā rām kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$əiləs ? | Did Ram eat rice yesterday? |
| 140. | rām kāl$^h$ kət$^h$i k$^h$ə ilək ? | rām kāl$^h$ kət$^h$i k$^h$ əelək ? | rām kāl$^h$u kət$^h$i k$^h$ə elək ? | rām kāl$^h$ kət$^h$i k$^h$ ae? | rām kāl$^h$u kət$^h$i k$^h$ə elək ? | rām kāl$^h$ kət$^h$i k$^h$ əiləs ? | What did Ram eat yesterday? |
| 141. | kāl$^h$ kəwən $b^h$āt k $^h$əilək ? | kāl$^h$ kəwən $b^h$āt k$^h$əelək ? | kāl$^h$u ke $b^h$āt k$^h$əel ək ? | kāl$^h$ kəwən $b^h$āt k$^h$ae ? | kāl$^h$u kəwən $b^h$āt k $^h$əelək ? | kāl$^h$ kəwən $b^h$āt k$^h$əiləs ? | Who ate rice yesterday? |
| 142. | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i kəil ək ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i kə elək ? | kāl$^h$u rām kət$^h$i kəe lək ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i ki e ? | kāl$^h$u rām kət$^h$i kəe lək ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i kə iləs ? | What did Ram do yesterday? |
| 143. | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k$^h$ əilək ? | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k $^h$əelək ? | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k$^h$ə elək ? | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k $^h$ae ? | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k$^h$ə elək ? | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k $^h$əiləs ? | When did Ram eat rice? |
| 144. | rām, $b^h$āt k$^h$ālə. | rām, $b^h$āt k$^h$ālə. | rām, $b^h$āt k$^h$ālə. | rām, $b^h$āt k$^h$āle. | rām, $b^h$āt k$^h$ālə. | rām, $b^h$āt k$^h$ālə. | Ram, eat rice. |
| 145. | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe. | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe. | kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe. | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe. | kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe. | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe. | It was Ram who ate rice yesterday. |
| 146. | kā kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āe wālā rāme rəhe ? | kā kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āe wālā rāme rəhe ? | kā kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$āe wālā rāme rəhe ? | kā kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āe wālā rāme rəhe ? | kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā rāme rəhe ki ? | kā kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āe wālā rāme rəhe ? | Was it Ram, who ate rice yesterday? |
| 147. | kā kāl$^h$ rām je k$^h$ə ilək se $b^h$āte rəhe ? | kā kāl$^h$ rām je k$^h$ əelək se $b^h$āte rəh e ? | kā kāl$^h$u rām je k$^h$ə elək se $b^h$āte rəhe ? | kā kāl$^h$ rām je k$^h$ ae təwən $b^h$āte rə he ? | kā kāl$^h$u rām je k$^h$ə elək se $b^h$āte rəhe ? | kā kāl$^h$ rām je k$^h$ əiləs se $b^h$āte rəh e ? | Was it rice, what Ram ate yesterday? |
| 148. | kā rām ke $b^h$āt k$^h$ āil kāl$^h$e hə ? | kā rām ke $b^h$āt k$^h$ āel kāl$^h$e hə ? | kā rām ke $b^h$āt k$^h$ā el kāl$^h$e hə ? | kā rām ke $b^h$āt k$^h$ āe kāl$^h$e he ? | kā rām ke $b^h$āt k$^h$ā el kāl$^h$ue rəhe ? | kā rām ke $b^h$āt k$^h$ āil kāl$^h$e ho ? | Was it yesterday, Ram ate rice? |
| 149. | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā ke rəhe ? | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā ke rəhe ? | kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā ke rəhe ? | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā kəun rəhe ? | kāl$^h$u $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā ke rəhe ? | kāl$^h$ $b^h$āt k$^h$āewāl ā ke rəhe ? | Who was the person who ate rice yesterday? |
| 150. | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i k$^h$ə ilək ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i k$^h$ əelək ? | kāl$^h$u rām kət$^h$i k$^h$ə elək ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i k$^h$ ae ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i k$^h$əe lək ? | kāl$^h$ rām kət$^h$i k$^h$ əiləs ? | What did Ram eat yesterday? |
| 151. | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k$^h$ | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k$^h$ə | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k$^h$ə | rām kəhiā $b^h$āt k | When did Ram eat |

| | əiləkh ? | ʰəeləkh ? | eləkh ? | ʰae ? | eləkh ? | ʰəiləs ? | rice? |
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| 152. | kālʰ rām bʰāt ke k ətʰi kəile rəhe ? | kālʰ rām bʰāt ke kətʰi kəele rəhe ? | kālʰu rām bʰāt ke k ətʰi kəele rəhe ? | kālʰ rām bʰāt ko kətʰi kie rəhe ? | kālʰu rām bʰāt ke k ətʰi kəele rəhe ? | kālʰ rām bʰāt ke kā kəile rəhe ? | What did Ram do with rice yesterday? |
| 153. | rām bʰāt kʰālā. | rām bʰāt kʰāle. | rām bʰāt kʰāie. | rām bʰāt kʰāt he. | rām bʰāt kʰāle. | rām bʰāt kʰāilā. | Ram eats rice. |
| 154. | rām bʰāt kʰātā. | rām bʰāt kʰāitā. | rām bʰāt kʰāitā. | rām bʰāt kʰāt he. | rām bʰāt kʰāitā. | rām bʰāt kʰātā. | Ram is eating rice. |
| 155. | rām bʰāt kʰāt rəhe . | rām bʰāt kʰāit rəhe. | rām bʰāt kʰāit rəhe . | rām bʰāt kʰāt rəh e. | rām bʰāt kʰāit rəhe . | rām bʰāt kʰāt rəh e. | Ram was eating rice. |
| 156. | rām bʰāt kʰəile bā . | rām bʰāt kʰəele b ā. | rām bʰāt kʰəele bā. | rām bʰāt kʰa lie he. | rām bʰāt kʰəele bā. | rām bʰāt kʰəile b ā. | Ram has eaten rice. |
| 157. | rām bʰāt kʰəile rə he. | rām bʰāt kʰəele r əhe. | rām bʰāt kʰəele rəh e. | rām bʰāt kʰa lie r əhe. | rām bʰāt kʰəele rəh e. | rām bʰāt kʰəile r əhe. | Ram had eaten rice. |
| 158. | rām bʰāt kʰāi. | rām bʰāt kʰāi. | rām bʰāt kʰāi. | rām bʰāt kʰā lī̃. | rām bʰāt kʰāi. | rām bʰāt kʰāi. | Ram will eat rice. |
| 159. | rām bʰāt kʰəile ho i. | rām bʰāt kʰəele h oi. | rām bʰāt kʰəele hoi . | rām bʰāt kʰa lie hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰəele hoi . | rām bʰāt kʰəile h oi. | Ram will have eaten rice. |
| 160. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāek e bā. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke bā. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke bā. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko həĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke həĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke bā. | Ram has to eat rice |
| 161. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāek e cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke cāhĩ. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke cāhĩ. | Ram should eat rice. |
| 162. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāhi ke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāh i ke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāhi k e cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰəib e karĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāhi k e cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāh i ke cāhĩ. | Ram must eat rice. |
| 163. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāek e rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke rəhe. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke rəhe. | Ram had to eat rice. |
| 164. | rām bʰāt kʰāe səki . | rām bʰāt kʰāe sə ki. | rām bʰāt kʰāe səki. | rām bʰāt kʰā səki . | rām bʰāt kʰāe səki. | rām bʰāt kʰāe sə ki. | Ram may eat rice. |
| 165. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkel ā. | rām bʰāt kʰā sək əle. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkəie . | rām bʰāt kʰā lī̃. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkəle . | rām bʰāt kʰā sək elā. | Ram can eat rice. |
| 166. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe diālā. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe diāle. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe di āie. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe diāt he. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe di āle. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe diālā. | Ram is allowed to eat rice. |
| 167. | rām ke bʰāt kʰā le we ke cāhət rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰā l ewe ke cəhəit rəh e. | rām ke bʰāt kʰā le we ke cəhəit rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰā l ewe ke cāhət rəh ā he. | rām ke bʰāt kʰā le we ke cəhəit rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰā l ewe ke cāhət rəh e. | Ram should have eaten rice. |
| 168. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāek e pəRelā. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke pərəle. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pərəie. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko pərələĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pərəle. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke pəRelā. | Ram is made to eat rice. |
| 169. | rām ke jəbərdəsti bʰāt kʰiāwəl jālā. | rām ke jəbərdəsti bʰāt kʰiāwəl jāle | rām ke jəbərdəsti b ʰāt kʰiāie. | rām ke jəbərdəsti bʰāt kʰiāwā jāt | rām ke jəbərdəsti b ʰāt kʰiāwəl jāle. | rām ke jəbərdəsti bʰāt kʰiāwəl jālā | Ram is forced to eat rice. |

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| | | . | | he. | | . | |
| 170. | rām ke bʰāt kʰiāwəl jālā. | rām ke bʰāt kʰiā wəl jāle. | rām ke bʰāt kʰiāie. | rām ke bʰāt kʰiā wā jāt he. | rām ke bʰāt kʰiāwəl jāle. | rām ke bʰāt kʰiā wəl jālā. | Rice is fed to Ram. |
| 171. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhelā. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhəle. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cā həie. | rām bʰāt kʰāeko cāhət he. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cā həle. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhelā. | Ram wants to eat rice. |
| 172. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke kʰojelā. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke kʰojəle. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke kʰ ojəie. | rām bʰāt kʰāeko kʰojət he. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke kʰ ojəle. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke kʰojelā. | Ram tries to eat rice. |
| 173. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke ās kərelā. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke ās kərəle. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke ās kərəie. | rām bʰāt kʰāeko ās kərət he. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke ās kərəle. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke ās kərelā. | Ram hopes to eat rice. |
| 174. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke icchā hə. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke icchā hə. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke icchā bā. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe kā mən he. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke icchā bāTe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke icchā bā. | Ram wishes to eat rice. |
| 175. | rām bʰāt kʰāe jātā. | rām bʰāt kʰāe jā rəhəl bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāe jāit bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāe jāt jāt he. | rām bʰāt kʰāe jā rə həl bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāe jā rəhəl bā. | Ram is getting ready to eat rice. |
| 176. | rām ke bʰāt kʰəile hoeke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰəle hoeke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰəele hoeke cāhĩ. | rām bʰāt kʰalie hoĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰəele hoeke cāhĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰəile hoeke cāhĩ. | Ram must have eaten rice. |
| 177. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāil hoeke rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāel hoeke rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāel hoeke rəhe. | rām ko bʰāt kʰā lie hoeko rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāel hoeke rəhe. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāil hoeke rəhe. | Ram might have eaten rice. |
| 178. | rām bʰāt kʰəile rəhit tə bʰəlā. | rām bʰāt kʰəele rəhəit tə bʰəlā. | rām bʰāt kʰəele rəhəit tə bʰəlā. | rām bʰāt kʰəlie hotā to Tʰik rəhā he. | rām bʰāt kʰəele rəhəit tə bʰəlā. | rām bʰāt kʰəile rəhit tə bʰəlā. | It would be better if Ram had eaten rice. |
| 179. | rām bʰāt kʰā lele rəhit tə. | rām bʰāt kʰā lele rəhəit tə. | rām bʰāt kʰā lele rəhəit tə. | rām bʰāt kʰəlie hotā to Tʰik he. | rām bʰāt kʰā lele rəhəit tə. | rām bʰāt kʰā lehle rəhte tə. | Ram could have eaten rice. |
| 180. | rām bʰāt kʰā nu le le rəhit. | rām bʰāt kʰā nu lele rəhəit. | rām bʰāt kʰā nu lele rəhəit. | rām bʰāt kəb nə kʰā lie rəhte. | rām bʰāt kʰā nə lele rəhəit. | rām bʰāt kʰā nu lehle rəhte. | Ram probably could have eaten rice. |
| 181. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pəri ki. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke pəri ki. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pəri ki. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko pəri ki. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pəri ki. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke pəri ki. | Ram may have to eat rice. |
| 182. | rām bʰāt kʰā səke wālā hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkewālā hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkewālā hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰāewālā hote. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkewālā hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkewālā hoi. | Ram may be able to eat rice. |
| 183. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pəre. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke pəre. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pəre. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko pərĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke pəre. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke pəre. | Ram had to eat rice. |
| 184. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhe. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhe. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhe. | rām bʰāt kʰāeko cāhət rəhe. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhe. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cāhe. | Ram used to wish to eat rice. |
| 185. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke deweke pəre. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke deweke pəre. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke deweke pəre. | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe ko dewekoparĩ. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke deweke pəre. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe ke deweke pəre. | Ram used to be given rice to eat. |
| 186. | rām ke bʰāt kʰāek | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke | rām ko bʰāt kʰāe | rām ke bʰāt kʰāeke | rām ke bʰāt kʰāe | Ram was given |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | e dehəl gəil rəhe. | ke del gel rəhe. | del gel rəhe. | ko die rəhie. | del gel rəhe. | ke dehəl gəil rəhe . | rice to eat. |
| 187. | rām bʰāt kʰāewāl ā ho gəil bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāewāl ā ho gel bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāewālā ho gel bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāewāl ā ho gā he. | rām bʰāt kʰāewālā ho gel bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāewāl ā ho gəil bā. | Ram has been able to eat rice. |
| 188. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke c əhle bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cəhle bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cə həie. | rām bʰāt kʰāeko cahət he. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cə hle bā. | rām bʰāt kʰāeke cəhle bā. | Ram has liked to eat rice. |
| 189. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkət rəhe. | rām bʰāt kʰā sək əit rəhe. | rām bʰāt kʰā səkəit rəhe. | rām bʰāt kʰā letā . | rām bʰāt kʰā səkəit rəhe. | rām bʰāt kʰā sək ət rəhe. | Ram could be able to eat rice. |
| 190. | rām bʰāt kʰāt hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰāit ho i. | rām bʰāt kʰāit hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰāt hoi . | rām bʰāt kʰāit hoi. | rām bʰāt kʰāt hoi . | Ram might be eating rice. |
| 191. | rām bʰāt nā kʰəilə k, kʰəilək ki ? | rām bʰāt nə kʰəel ək, kʰəelək ki ? | rām bʰāt nə kʰəelə k, kʰəelək ki ? | rām bʰāt nə kʰɑe, kʰɑe ki ? | rām bʰāt nə kʰəelə k, kʰəelək ki ? | rām bʰāt nāi kʰəi ləs, kʰəiləs ki ? | Ram did not eat rice, did he? |
| 192. | rām bʰāt kʰəilək, t ə nā kʰəilək ? | rām bʰāt kʰəelək, tə nə kʰəelək ? | rām bʰāt kʰəelək, t ə nə kʰəelək ? | rām bʰāt kʰɑe, tə nə kʰɑe ? | rām bʰāt kʰəelək, t ə nə kʰəelək ? | rām bʰāt kʰəiləs, tə nāi kʰəiləs ? | Ram ate rice, didn't he? |
| 193. | bʰāt kʰāewālā rā me rəhe, nā tə ? | bʰāt kʰāewālā rā me rəhe, nə tə ? | bʰāt kʰāewālā rām e rəhe, nə tə ? | bʰāt kʰāewālā rā me rəhe, nə tə ? | bʰāt kʰāewālā rām e rəhe, nə tə ? | bʰāt kʰāewālā rā me rəhe, nāi tə ? | It was Ram, who ate rice, wasn't it? |
| 194. | rām kʰəilək se bʰā te rəhe, nā tə ? | rām kʰəelək se bʰ āte rəhe, nə tə ? | rām kʰəelək se bʰāt e rəhe, nə tə ? | rām kʰɑe se bʰāt e rəhe, nə tə ? | rām kʰəelək se bʰāt e rəhe, nə tə ? | rām kʰəiləs se bʰ āte rəhe, nāi tə ? | It was rice that Ram ate, wasn't it? |
| 195. | kālʰe nu hə rām k e bʰāt kʰāil ? | kālʰe nu hə rām ke bʰāt kʰāel ? | kālʰe nu hə rām ke bʰāt kʰāel ? | kālʰe nu he rām kā bʰāt kʰāwā ? | kālʰue nu bā rām k e bʰāt kʰāel ? | kālʰie nu hə rām ke bʰāt kʰāil ? | It was yesterday that Ram ate rice, wasn't it? |
| 196. | rām bʰāt nā kʰəilə k. | rām bʰāt nə kʰəel ək. | rām bʰāt nə kʰəelə k. | rām bʰāt nə kʰāe. | rām bʰāt nə kʰəelə k. | rām bʰāt nāi kʰəi ləs. | Ram did not eat rice. |
| 197. | kā rām bʰāt nā kʰ əilək ? | kā rām bʰāt nə kʰ əelək ? | kā rām bʰāt nə kʰə elək ? | kā rām bʰāt nə kʰ āe ? | kā rām bʰāt nə kʰə elək ? | kā rām bʰāt nāi k ʰəiləs ? | Did Ram not eat rice? |
| 198. | rām kālʰ kətʰi nā kʰəilək ? | rām kālʰ kətʰi nə kʰəelək ? | rām kālʰu kətʰi nə kʰəelək ? | rām kālʰ kətʰi nə kʰāe ? | rām kālʰu kətʰi nə kʰəelək ? | rām kālʰ kā nāi k ʰəiləs ? | What did Ram not eat yesterday? |
| 199. | rām kəhiā bʰāt nā kʰəilək ? | rām kəhiā bʰāt n ə kʰəelək ? | rām kəhiā bʰāt nə kʰəelək ? | rām kəhiā bʰāt n ə kʰāe ? | rām kəhiā bʰāt nə kʰəelək ? | rām kəhiā bʰāt n āi kʰəiləs ? | When did Ram not eat rice? |
| 200. | rām, bʰāt nā kʰā. | rām, bʰāt nā kʰā. | rām, bʰāt nə kʰā. | rām, bʰāt nə kʰā. | rām, bʰāt nə kʰā. | rām, bʰāt nāi kʰā . | Ram, don't eat rice. |

# Appendix-C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. Religion:
5. Caste/Tribe:
6. Economic Status:
7. Occupation:
8. Date of Interview:
9. Education:
10. Medium of Instruction:
11. (a) Where were you born?
    (b) Where did you grow?
    (c) Your current address:
        Zone: District: Municipality/VDC: Ward No.:
12. (a) What do you call your language?
    (b) Does it have a special meaning?
    (c) Do you have other names of your language?
13. Where else do people speak just the same way you do?
14. Where do people speak just a little bit differently?
15. (a) Where do people speak very differently?
    (b) How much of their speech do you understand?
16. Where do the people speak your own language the most purely?
17. (a) Where do people speak your own language the best?
    (b) Why do you say that is the best?
18. (a) What other languages do you speak except your own?
    (b) If so, on what occasions?
19. What other languages are understood and spoken in this area?
20. (a) What other places do you travel to?
    (b) Do you go often?
    (c) For what purpose?
    (d) What language do you speak there?
21. (a) Do many people travel outside from here?

(b) Where?

(c) For what reason?

(d) How often?

(e) What languages are spoken there?

22. (a) Do the women in your home travel to places outside your village?

(b) Where?

(c) For what reason?

(d) How often?

(e) What language would they use there?

23. (a) What other native language speakers live in your locality?

(b) When you talk to these people, what language do you use?

24. (a) Where did your own tribe/community come from?

(b) When did they come?

(c) Why did they come?

25. Do you speak the same language as your grandfather did?

26. What is the name of your father's language?

27. What is the name of your mother's language?

28. What language did you speak at home as a child with your parents?

29. (a) What language do you speak now at home?

(b) With whom?

30. (a) What other languages do you speak?

(b) Where?

(c) With whom?

(d) How well?

(e) How did you learn?

31. What do you call the people who speak your language?

32. Do your children know any other languages?

33. What language do you speak while talking to your family members?

(a) Grandparents?

(b) Father?

(c) Mother?

(d) Brother?

(e) Sister?

(f) Children?

(g) Grandchildren?

34. What language do you use for the following?
    (a) in local market?
    (b) explaining things to women?
    (c) to children?
    (d) for jokes and stories?
    (e) for religious teaching in the temple/mosque?
    (f) for religious teaching at home?
    (g) for political talks?
    (h) with your friends and relatives?
    (i) for getting employment?
35. What languages these people speak?
    (a) Grandfather to Grandmother?
    (b) Grandmother to Grandfather?
    (c) Father to Mother?
    (d) Mother to Father?
    (e) Father to children?
    (f) Mother to children?
    (g) children to Mother?
    (h) children to Father?
36. Should all speak Bhojpuri in the Bhojpuri speaking area?
37. Should all the children in your area learn Bhojpuri?
38. (a) Should your language be taught in school?
    (b) Do you think there should be Bhojpuria teachers in schools at your locality to help explaining things to children in Bhojpuri?
39. Should all learn Nepali also?
40. Do you speak Nepali?
    (a) When?
    (b) Where?
    (c) With whom?
    (d) Do you speak it well?
    (e) Do you find it easy to speak?
41. Do you speak Hindi?
    (a) When?

(b) Where?

(c) With whom?

(d) Do you speak it well?

(e) Do you find it easy to speak?

42. (a) Do your people marry with Nepali speakers?

(b) If so, what language is spoken at home with the children?

43. What is the medium of instruction at schools here?

44. Will you send your children to a school where your language is the medium of instruction?

45. (a) Are there books in your language?

(b) Have you tried to read them?

(c) What did you read?

(d) If not, do you think your language would be easy to read?

46. What language is the best for written materials? Why?

47. (a) Do you think people would buy books in your language?

(b) Would you?

48. (a) What kind of things should be written in your language?

(b) Who should learn to read and write your language?

(c) Is this some thing for women?

49. Will you join the class that teaches how to read and write your language?

50. (a) Which language is the best for writing things?

(b) Why do you think so?

51. Are there any of your own people who have stopped speaking your own language and started speaking another one?

52. Are there any people who have stopped speaking their own language and started speaking yours?

53. (a) Do you switch off the code in your language and speak another language?

(b) When?

(c) Why?

54. (a) Do you mix the code of other language in yours?

(b) When?

(c) Why?

55. (a) How do you feel while speaking your language?

(b) How do Bhojpuri speakers feel while speaking their language?

(c) What will happen by speaking your language?

(d) What will happen if your language is not spoken?

56. In which situation the Bhojpuri speakers switch the code off Bhojpuri to other language?
57. What languages are spoken in your society?
58. In what situation do you speak two languages together?
59. What are the words representing relations in your language?
60. What are the taboo words in your language?
61. How are the situation of your language?
    (a) at school
    (b) at college
    (c) on radio
    (d) on television
    (e) in newspapers and magazines
62. Reasons of the influence of other languages on yours:
63. Reasons of the influence of your language on others:
64. What script is your language written in?
65. Literature:
    (a) Ancient Literature
        (i) Can you tell the name of some traditional songs, tales and epic in your language?
        (ii) Who do you think have written them?
        (iii) Why?
    (b) Modern Literature
        (i) What types of books are available these days in your language?
        (ii) Where are they published and who write? Can you name some of them?
    (c) Folk Literature

        Can you recite some songs and tales popular in your locality?

# Appendix-D: A Glimpse Of Bhojpuri Folk-Literature

## भोजपुरी लोक साहित्य

### एक झलक

**१. लोकगीत**

**बरमासा**

जेठ बइसाखावा के ततली भुम्हुरिया से गोइठी में सुनुगले आग हे
नन्हे से पिया मोरा हुँकवा सवादले जरि गइले कोमल करेज हे
फागुन सखी सब फाग खेलतु है घर-घर उड़ेला अबीर हे
सब सखी खेले रामा अपना बलमु सङे हमरी बलमु परदेश हे
चइत हे सखी चित मोरा चञ्चल जियरा जे भइले उदास हे
कलिया जे चुनी-चुनी सेजिया डसाइले पिया बिनु सेजिया उदास हे

**पराती**

तोरा डरे घेंकुरी लगइया हो जाड़ रइया तोरा डरे घेंकुरी लगइया ।
गोड़ दने जाड़ समइले थर थर करेज कँपइया
नाक दूनू सुरुरुरु कान दूनू बंसिया बजइया ॥ हो जाड़ रइया ॥
चदरवाला के घूसो घासो फारत लाल रजइया
कमरवाला के टाड़ोटूड़ो गुदरा के भिरियो न जइया ॥ हो जाड़ रइया ॥

**गीत**

धनि धनि रे पुरुष तोर भाग, करकसा नारी मिलल
सात घड़ी दिन सुत के जागी, लिहली बढ़निया उठाय ।
निहुरे निहुरे अंगनवा बहारे, घर भर के गरिआय ॥
करकसा नारी मिलल ।

**सोहर**

एहि अवसर पर पिया जे मिलतन मुँके लाते मारती हे ।
ललना हाँथवा लफाई डाँड़वा धरती बेदन आधा बाँटती हे ॥
तब तूहुँ मथवा बन्हवलू त तजावा लगवलू हो ।
पाजी जब जीयरा परल बा सकेतवा, कवनो बश न चले नू हो ॥

**समझावन**

जाहि दिन बेटी हो तोहरी जनम भइले, पउवाँ हमर घहराए हो ।
मांस मछरी मोरा मनहु न भावेला, पउवाँ हमर घहराए हो ॥
जाहि दिन बेटी हो तोहरी जनम भइले, भइले भदउआ के रात हो ।
सास ननद घरे दिअरो न बारेली, उहो प्रभु बोलेलें कुबोल हो ॥

**गीत**

मचियाहि बइठेली कोसिला रानी हरिनी अरज करे हो ।
रानी मसुआ त सींझेला रसोइआ खलरिया हमे देइदेहु हो ॥
पेंडवा से टाँगब खलरिया त मन समुझाएब हो ।
रानी, फिरि-फिरि देखबो खलरिया मानब हरिना जीअते नु हो ॥
जाहू हरिनी घर अपना खलरिया न देहब हो ।
हरिनी, खलरी के खँजुड़ी मढ़ाएव राम मोरा खेलिहेन हो ॥

जब-जब बाजेला खँजुड़िया सुनिके हरिनी अहँकेली हो ।
हरिनी ठाड़ ढेकुलिया के नीचे हरिन बिनु बिलुखेली हो ॥

### लोरी

ए बचवा तोहर बाबा कइसन ? हथिया चढ़ल पतिहसवा जइसन ।
ए बचवा तोहर नाना कइसन ? गदहा चढ़ल भिखमंगवा ज्यसन ।
ए बचवा तोहर बाबु कइसन ? घोड़वा चढ़ल कुँवरवा अइसन ।
ए बचवा तोहर चाचा कइसन ? घुँट्ठी घोर धोती जिमदरवा अइसन ।
ए बचवा तोहर मामा कइसन ? बीनत सुपलिया डोमवा अइसन ।

### लचारी

कइसे के कटाई भोला गरीबन के दिन भोला गरीबन के दिन ?
थारी त एकेगो दिहल बेटा दिहल तीन
खाइते ते बेरिया भोला होला छिनाछिन भोला गरीबन के दिन
लोटा त एकेगो दिहल बेटा दिहल तीन
पिअइत का बेरिया भोला होला छिनाछिन भोला गरीबन के दिन

## २. कबीत

आदि के स्वाद कहाँ कपि के हरवाह जवाहर का पहचाने
बुकवा के स्वाद न भेंड़न के रति के स्वाद न हिंजड़ जाने
कहे कवि गंग विचार करी ओइसे रणस्वाद न कायर जाने

### कबीत

सँवरी के तरल तू जुठ बइर खाई खाई, गनिका के तरल ऊ त सुगा के पढवले रहे
प्रहलाद के तरल ऊ त नाम के तोहर आँसिक रहे, गिद्धराज तरल ऊ त रथ बिलमवले रहे
द्रौपदी के तरल ऊ त बहिन तोहार हई, सुदामा विप्र तरल ऊ त फरुही खिअवले रहे
बिना रिस्तादारी बिना भक्ति बिना घूस खइले हम के जे तार त तारन तोहार जानीं ।

## ३. कथा

### दू रोटी कि तीन ?

कवनो गाँव में दू व्यक्ति रहत रहे । मरदा बहुत आसकती रहे । ओके कवनों कमाएके ना कहे । कहिओ कमाए जाए त ऊ बनिहारी जवले ओरावे ना तवले ऊ फेर कमाए ना जाए । एक दिन ऊ कहीं से कुछ गहुँ बनिहारी में ले आइल । रात में रोटी बनल । रोटी रहे पाँच गो । अब मरद मेहरारु में झगड़ा ठन गइल । मरद कहे हम तीन गो खाएम आ मेहरारु कहे हम तीनगो खाएम । बाद में सहमती भइल । बिहने जे पाछे उठी ऊ तीन गो खाई । बिहने पाछे उठेके हाराबाजी लाग गइल । कवनो उठबे ना करे । बेरा उठ गइल । टोला-परोसा के लोग देखलक् । एह किसान के फाटक बने रहे । लोग झाँखिया के देखलक् । दूनू सुतल रहे । लोग कहे लागल, 'बनवले रहल ह । दूनू एके बेर मर गइल ।' लोग फरकी बनवलख्, जर्ना खोजलख् आ आगी, कोदारी लेके चलल मुर्दघटी में । दरी खनाइल । दूनू लाश के चीरा पर धऽ दिआइल । जब आग लगावे पर भइल त मरदा कहलख्, 'उठऽ हे मुहझौंसी ! तुहे खइह तीनगो । हम दुइएगो खाएम । फुँकनिहारो गइल रहे पाँचे आदमी । अब त फुँकनिहार लोग के जान पर बिते लागल । भागल लोग लुती लेखा ! फुँकनिहार लोग अगाड़ि अगाड़ि आ जिअल मुर्दा पछाड़ि पछाड़ि । आखिर गाँव में पहुँचल । बात सबकेहु के सामने आइल । समाज में ओ मरद मेहरारु के फटकार परल । दूनू लाजे कठुआ गइलन ।

### बहुसन्तान आ गरीबी

कवनो गाँव में एगो किसान रहे । उ बहुत गरीब रहे । बाँकिर ओकरा एक दर्जन लइका लइकी रहे । बेचारा कहिओ निमन से खाहु ना सके । एक दिन ऊ अपना मेहरारु से साँझ में खीर बनावेके कहलख् । मेहरारु कहली, 'लइकन

के पाए के मुह में सटी ?' मरदु कहलें, 'खीर बनी, बाँकिर लइकन के सुतला के बाद ।' दिने में दूध, चिनी, मसाला आ चाउर के इन्तजाम हो गइल । रात में लइकन सुत गइलन । दूनू मरद मेहरारु खीर बनावे लागल । बाद में जब खीर चलावेके परल तब मेहरारु कहली, 'मार मु धइके ! छोलनी त मिलते नइखे ! कहाँ धरा गइल बा ?' बड़की बेटी आँख मिजते कहलख्, 'गे माई हेदा नू बा ।' मेहरारु ओकरा के चूप रहेके इशारा करत छोलनी ले लेली । बाद में करछुल के जरुरी परल । फेर ऊ करछुल ताके लगनी । तवले मझिला लइका कहलख्, 'माई, हेदे नु धइले बानी ।' एही तरे कटोरा, छीपा, छिपुली, गिलास, लोटा जब जब खोजाइल त लइकन किहाँ से भुल भुल मिले लागल । बाद में मेहरारु कहली, 'रे कोरपोंछुआ ! तू काहे बाँकी रहबे ? तोहरा कुछ ना मिलल ह धरेके ?' उहो कवन कम रहे ! आँख मिजते कहलख्, 'गरम मसाला हम धइले नु बानी जेबी में ।' बाद में किसान कहलख्, 'जे दुःख छोड़नी गउरा घाट, से दुःख त लगले बा !'

### ४. परतोक

नून, तेल, मिरचाई, ई घर रही कि जाई ?
बाभन जात अन्हरिया रात
दही चिउरा पर दउरल जात
खुँटा में ठेस लागल त बाप रे बाप
सय चोट सोनार के, एके चोट लोहार के ।
अहीर बुझावे से मरद ।
जोलहा के नोकर पैठान ?
चमार ना होए हमार ।
मलाह न राखे सलाह ।
तीन कोस पर मिले तेली तइयो जात्रा हेली ।
महाजन के सवाई मियाँजी के दोबरी ।
अधजल गगरी छलकत जाय ।
बाप के नाव सागपात बेटा के नाव दुर्गाप्रसाद ।
बसिया रोटी तेवसिया साग खा ल हो पहुना तोर बड़ी भाग ।
ओठ जरल बिलाई महियो फूँक के पिएली ।
घर में भइल खटपट त बुढ़ऊ चललें मठ पर ।
हाँडी के पेट सोहारी से भरी ?
मुँह में राम बगल में छूड़ी ।
उपर से फिटफाट नीचा मोकामा घाट ।
ढाड़स भारी डिब्बा खाली ।
पानी में मछरी नौ नौ कुटिया बखरा ।
बाजार के पते ना चाईं के डेरा ।
बर माने ना कनिया करे बिछौना ।
एगो में आवाजाही दोसर ला बिछौना चाहीं ।
पाँच कवर भीतर तब देवता पितर ।
भूख न जाने छूँछ भात, पिआस न जाने धोबी घाट
नीन न जाने मूर्दाघाट, प्रीत न जाने जातकुजात
बोलेके भली भली, हगेके गली गली ।
कवन देह जहाँ दाग नइखे ?
बाज हे ढोल बाज मुदई का घर में बाज
एक बेर बजल हमरा घर हम जोती बाभन के हर
बाप तबाह बेटा से, देश तबाह नेता से ।
एगो बेटी नौ गो दामाद पानलागे त बड़ा सवाद ।
राजा छोहइलें त कान दूनू सुन, बनिया छोहइले छटाक भर नून ।
हर बहे से खर खाए बकरी अँचार खाए ।

**५. मोहबरा**

उठल्लु चुल्हा
उल्टा खोंपड़ीवाला
लुतरी लगावल
ओठ सियल
कइँची चलावल
कउआ नहान
कचुमर निकालल
कठपुतरी
कपारे परल
कान काटल

**६. बुझउवल**

राजा के बेटा हुमेला के नाती, बीचे दरबार माहे हँकलक् हाँथी → डेंगी
चार गाछी चार लङ, पाता गिरे एके लङ → गाई भैंसी के थान
खोजला से मिले ना, बेंचले बिकाए ना, ना राजा के राज में, ना बनिया दोकान में पुछिहेन त कहब का मङिहेन त देहब का ?→ बरसल पथल
आङन धब धब गली में नइखे, कवन फल जेकरा खिलकोआ नइखे → बरसल पथल
तोहरा हाँथ में चारगो → गासा
हाँथी निकल गइल, पोंछड़ी अँटक गइल → सुई-डोरा
नान्ही चाके मुसरी कुद कुद के आर बान्हे → सिलाई मशीन
आन्हार घर में ढिंढ़ार नाचे → हाँड़ी

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